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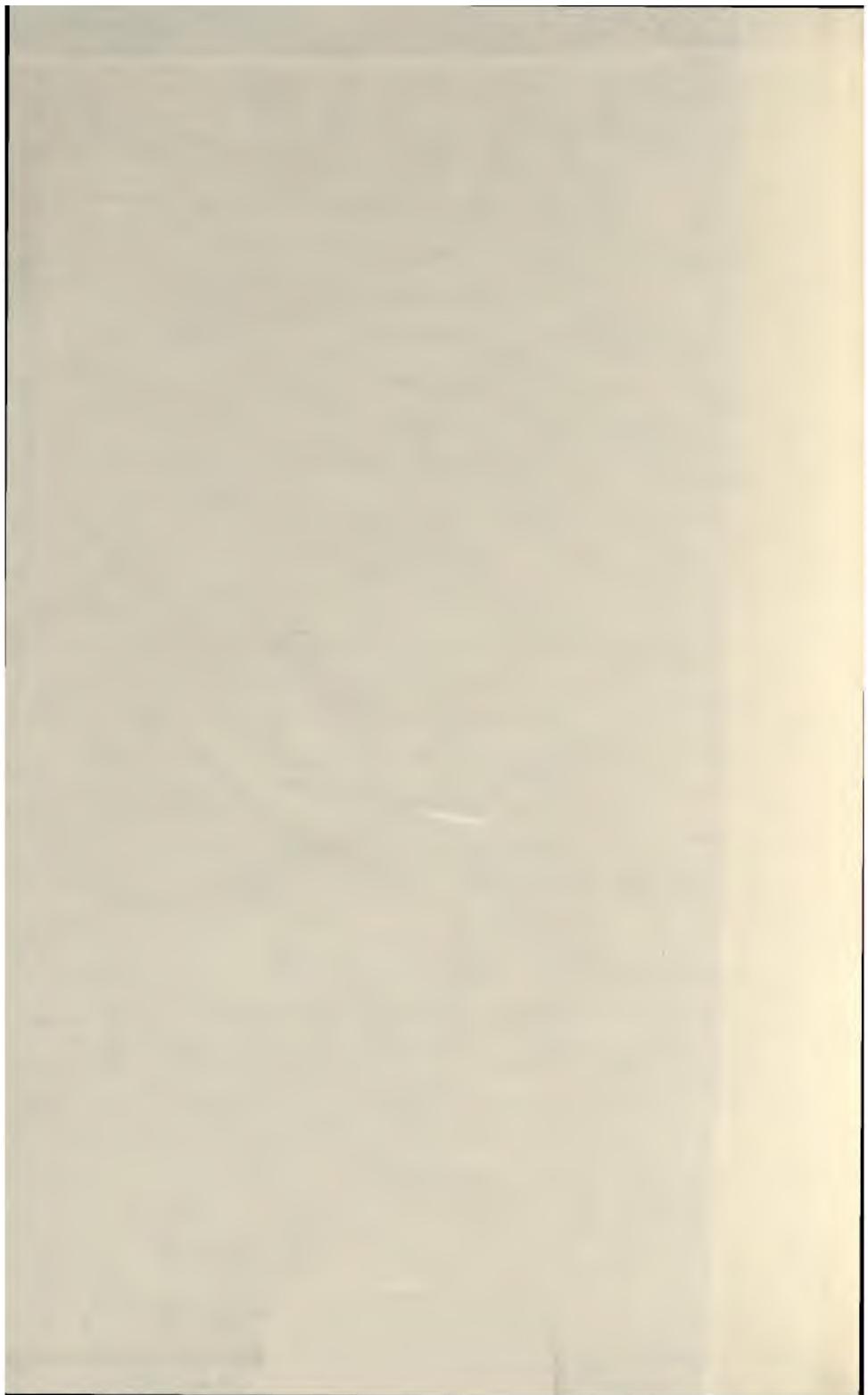
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YEAR BOOK
OF THE
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN RABBIS

VOLUME XIII

EDITED BY
ADOLF GUTTMACHER and WILLIAM ROSENAU

1903

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CONTAINING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

HELD AT

DETROIT, JUNE 29 TO JULY 4, 1903

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of Officers	5
Standing Committees	6
Temporary Committees	7
Programme of the Convention	9
Prayer (June 29) by J. Nieto.....	11
Address of Welcome by L. M. Franklin	12
Response by L. Grossmann	15
Message of President Joseph Silverman	18
List of Members in Attendance	30
Report of Treasurer	30
Report of Committee on Union Hymnal	36
Report of Committee on Historical Exhibit	39
Report of Corresponding Secretary	39
Resolution on Moritz Lazarus	41
Resolution on Mark Antokolski	42
Resolution on Rudolph Virchow	42
Resolution on Abraham Berliner	43
Resolution on Michael Friedlaender	43
Resolution on Horace de Günzburg.....	44
Resolution on H. Brody	44
Resolution on Jewish Encyclopedia	44
Report of Committee on Marriage Agenda	45
Report of Committee on Relation between Rabbi and Congregation by Philipson	46
Discussion of Report	50
Discussion of Report of Sabbath Commission	55, 74, 96
Report of Committee on Haggadah	64
Discussion of Report	64
Report of Publication Committee	65
Report of Expert Accountant on books of Secretary of Publication Committee	68
Suggestions of Expert Accountant.....	72
Telegram sent to President Roosevelt anent the Kishineff Affair	73
President's Answer to Telegram	74

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Report on Auditing Publication Committee Report	87
Dr. Kohler speaks on Lazarus	87
Resolution on A. B. Ehrlich	88
Resolution on S. Wolfenstein	88
Report on Auditing Treasurer's Report	90
Report of Committee on President's Message	90
Discussion of Report	91
Report of Committee on Thanks	94
Place of Meeting for next Conference Proposed	95
Report of Committee on Nominations	96
Report on Auditing Union Hymnal Report.....	96
Continued Discussion of Sabbath Commission's Report	96
Telegrams and letters received	101

APPENDIX

Assyriology and the Bible. Dr. K. Kohler.....	103
Discussion of paper by Philipson, Elzas, Willner, M. L. Margolis, Deutsch, Enelow, F. Cohn, Kohler.....	115
Report of Sabbath Commission. Rabbis J. Voorsanger, Sonneschein, Enelow	139
Pedagogical Methods in the Modern Jewish Religious School. Rabbi L. Grossmann	173
Discussion by Rabbi A. Simon.....	182
The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism. Prof. M. L. Margolis....	185
Discussion of paper by Rabbis S. Hecht, M. Friedlander	309
Life of Solomon Munk. Prof. G. Deutsch	339
Tributes on the late Moses Mielziner	346
Tribute on the late Benjamin Szold	357
Tribute on the late Gustave Gottheil.....	362
Tribute on the late E. K. Fischer	364
Conference Lecture. Rabbi T. Schanfarber	365
Conference Sermon. Rabbi S. Hirschberg	374
Resolution on Moses Mielziner	382
Memorial Page in Honor of the Founder of the Conference, Isaac M. Wise	383
List of Members of Conference	384

OFFICERS
FOR THE YEAR 1903-1904.

HONORARY PRESIDENT,
KAUFMAN KOHLER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PRESIDENT,
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF, Philadelphia, Pa.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT,
JOSEPH STOLZ, Chicago, Ill.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT,
JACOB VOORSANGER, San Francisco, Cal.

TREASURER,
CHAS. S. LEVI, Peoria, Ill.

RECORDING SECRETARY,
ADOLF GUTTMACHER, Baltimore, Md.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
WILLIAM ROSENAU, Baltimore, Md.

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H. G. ENELOW.....	Louisville, Ky.
L. M. FRANKLIN.....	Detroit, Mich.
L. GROSSMANN.....	Cincinnati, O.
M. L. MARGOLIS.....	Berkeley, Cal.
D. PHILIPSON.....	Cincinnati, O.
T. SCHANFARBER.....	Chicago, Ill.
J. SILVERMAN.....	New York.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

1903-1904.

On Publications,

J. STOLZ, T. SCHANFARBER, A. R. LEVY.

On Ministers' Fund,

I. AARON, A. GUTTMAN, E. N. CALISCH.

On Circuit Preaching,

E. N. CALISCH, T. SCHANFARBER, D. MARX.

On Ministers' Hand-Book,

J. STOLZ.

On Theological Aspect of Reform Judaism,

K. KOHLER, M. L. MARGOLIS, G. DEUTSCH, M. HELLER,
B. FELSENTHAL, J. SILVERMAN, M. FRIEDLANDER.

On Synod,

H. G.ENELOW, G. DEUTSCH, J. VOORSANGER,
WM. ROSENAU, CHAS. S. LEVI, H. BERKOWITZ.

On National Organization,

J. SILVERMAN, D. PHILIPSON, R. GROSSMAN, J. NIETO,
L. M. FRANKLIN, G. SOLOMON, M. J. GRIES.

On Sabbath Question,

J. VOORSANGER, K. KOHLER, G. DEUTSCH, H. G. ENELOW.

On Seder Haggadah,

J. KRAUSKOPF, H. BERKOWITZ, J. STOLZ, B. A. ELZAS,
H. G. ENELOW.

On Editing Year-Book,

A. GUTTMACHER, WM. ROSENAU.

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES
ACTING FOR THE DETROIT CONVENTION, 1903.

On Moses Mielziner Resolution,

H. BERKOWITZ, W.M. ROSENAU, A. GUTTMACHER.

On Press,

G. DEUTSCH, L. M. FRANKLIN, L. MANNHEIMER.

On President's Message,

I. AARON, J. VOORSANGER, J. NIETO, M. L. MARGOLIS,
G. SOLOMON, A. GUTTMACHER.

On Resolutions,

I. S. MOSES, L. GROSSMANN, K. KOHLER,
D. PHILIPSON, E. N. CALISCH.

On Auditing Treasurer's Report,

S. HECHT, M. ZIELONKA, J. S. KORNFELD.

On Auditing Union Hymnal Accounts,

B. A. ELŽAS, H. G.ENELOW, F. COHN.

On Auditing Publication Committee Accounts,

M. J. GRIES, D. KLEIN, CHAS. J. FREUND.

On Nominations,

Wm. ROSENAU, M. J. GRIES, M. L. MARGOLIS,
T. SCHANFARBER, M. FRIEDLANDER, I. L. RYPINS,
A. GUTTMAN, CHAS. S. LEVI, J. SILVERMAN.

On Thanks,

M. C. CURRICK, S. HIRSCHBERG, E. MANNHEIMER,
J. MIELZINGER, J. S. KORNFELD.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 29 TO JULY 4, 1903

TEMPLE BETH-EL

PROGRAMME

Monday Evening, 8 o'clock.

PRAYER	J. Nieto
ADDRESS OF WELCOME.....	Rabbi L. M. Franklin.
ADDRESS	The Mayor of Detroit.
GREETINGS	Rev. L. S. McCollister.
RESPONSE	Rabbi L. Grossmann.
MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT.....	Rabbi J. Silverman.

Tuesday Morning, 9.30 o'clock.

PRAYER	Rabbi M. Friedlander
REPORT OF TREASURER.....	Rabbi Chas. S. Levi.
REPORT OF PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.....	Rabbi J. Stolz.
REPORT OF UNION HYMNAL COMMITTEE.....	Rev. A. Kaiser.
REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY	Rabbi R. Grossmann.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL EXHIBIT	{ Rabbi M. H. Harris.
PAPER ON ASSYRILOGY AND THE BIBLE (answer to Delitzsch on "Babel und Bibel").....	{ Rabbi K. Kohler.
DISCUSSION	Rabbis D. Philipson, W. Willner and B. A. Elzas.

Tuesday Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock.

PAPER ON "PROFESSOR MUNK"	Prof. G. Deutsch.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE AGENDA.....	Rabbi T. Schanfarber

Wednesday Morning, 9.30 o'clock.

PRAYER	Chas. J. Freund.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON "RELATION BETWEEN RABBI AND CONGREGATION"	Rabbi D. Philipson.
REPORT OF SABBATH COMMISSION.....	Rabbi J. Voorsanger
DISCUSSION	Rabbi H. G. Enelow.

Wednesday Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SEDER HAGGADAH	Rabbi J. Krauskopf.
PAPER ON "PEDAGOGICAL METHODS IN THE MODERN JEWISH RELIGIOUS SCHOOL"	Rabbi L. Grossmann.
DISCUSSION	Rabbi A. Simon.

Wednesday Evening.

MEMORIAL SERVICES.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE BENJAMIN SZOLD.....	Rabbi Wm. Rosenau.
TRIBUTE TO THE LATE MOSES MIELZINER....	Rabbis I. Aaron and Chas. S. Levi.
TRIBUTE TO THE LATE GUSTAVE GOTTHEIL.....	Rabbi I. S. Moses.
TRIBUTE TO THE LATE E. K. FISCHER	Rabbi L. Mannheimer.

Thursday Morning, 9.30 o'clock.

PRAYER	Rabbi M. Zielonka.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.	
PAPER ON "THEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF REFORMED JUDAISM,"	Prof. M. L. Margolis.
DISCUSSION	Rabbis S. Hecht and M. Friedlander.

Friday Morning, 9.30 o'clock.

PRAYER	Rabbi D. Lefkowitz.
REPORTS OF COMMITTEES, UNFINISHED BUSINESS, ELECTION OF OFFICERS.	
CLOSING PRAYER.....	Prof. G. Deutsch.

Friday Evening

DIVINE SERVICES.	
CONFERENCE LECTURE	Rabbi T. Schanfarber.

Sabbath Morning.

DIVINE SERVICES.	
CONFERENCE SERMON	Rabbi S. Hirschberg
CLOSING REMARKS.....	President.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE

Central Conference of American Rabbis

HELD AT

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, JUNE 29 TO JULY 4, 1903

TEMPLE BETH-EL
MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 29, 1903.

The Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was opened at 8 p. m.

The session was public.

President Joseph Silverman called the Conference to order.

Rabbi J. Nieto, of San Francisco, Cal., offered the following prayer:

"Oh! God, Creator and Father of all; in Thy name we have assembled and in Thy name we desire to proceed in all our deliberations. Grant that Thy blessing may abide with us during our sessions, and that Thy spirit may rest upon us throughout our discussions. Guide our thoughts and guard our utterances, so that no word may pass, no thought be expressed that shall disturb the harmony of these meetings. Impress upon us the sacredness of the cause we represent, so that the earnestness evidenced by us, in all our endeavors, and our zeal for our holy faith, may tend to inspire our people with fervor and true religious spirit. Keep constantly before our minds the sacred cause of Judaism and the spiritual, moral and intellectual welfare of those, who are our charges, so that the full-hearted and wise results of our

meditations may convince them and the world, that the community of Israel is moved and governed by spiritual ideals and that its desire is to rise higher and higher morally and spiritually. May we, who represent Israel at this time, be led by Thy spirit and moved by Thy divine wisdom and do only those things, which will be for the welfare of those, who look to us for guidance at all times. Let us remember, that *דברי חכמים בנהchat נשמות* and may the friendliness of our discussions be proof of the righteousness of our desires. May honesty mark our speech and integrity adorn our words and may we, with sincerity, strive after truth, which imbued us with a desire to labor for the spiritual uplifting of our people, that we may earn the reverence and respect of all. May we so impress upon all Israel our deep, sincere and unselfish solicitude and concern for their religious and moral welfare, that those, who are astray, may be led back to Thee, and those, whose souls trust in Thee, may yet more firmly rely upon Thee and Thy eternal goodness. Guard and protect all Thy children, Thou Who art indeed the Father of all, and lead them, by the light of Thy law, to that perfection, possible to Thee alone—Holiness. May we never be unmindful of the fact, that, as children of one God, we must labor for the benefit of all and pray for the residence of Thy spirit upon earth, that all men, moved by one holy impulse, may unite into one band of brothers, singing in unison the praise of the One and Holy God, the Father of all mankind. Amen."

Rabbi L. M. Franklin then delivered the following address of welcome:

It is a privilege, which I do not lightly esteem, and a pleasure, infinitely greater than my words can convey, to welcome you back to the city where your organization was created, and to the hearts and homes of our people, whose interest in your work has never flagged. It is an especially grateful thought, that you come back to us, whence you went uncertain even of life, robust and strong, crowned with the glory of great achievement, the promises of those, who gave you life fulfilled, and your own hopes more than realized. The one overhanging shadow, that dims the brightness of this hour, lies in the fact that he, who was the master of us all, he, whom we all loved so well, a man to whose genius for organization this Conference owes its existence, a man, whose strength was gentleness and whose gentleness was strength, is not with us. But the spirit of Isaac M. Wise has guided, and, praise God, shall always guide us. Thank God, there are among us men, who worked with him and beside him, and there are other men, who were privileged

to sit, as pupils at the feet of this great master, who had been imbued through him with zeal, with earnestness and with enthusiasm for that sacred cause to which his whole heroic life was consecrated.

אין צדיק נפטר מן העולם עד שנברא צדיק פמוּחוּ

"No righteous man is taken from the world until another righteous man has been created," is the simple phrase, in which the Talmud bodies forth the eternal truth, that the activities of the world's moral heroes will find the means of their perpetuation, even after the men themselves have passed away. On that sad day, now more than three years past, when Dr. Wise was called to rest eternal, many were the prophets of evil, who predicted, that the institutions he had founded would pass away. The College would close its doors; the Union be dismembered; this Conference cease to be, and Reform become that nameless thing, which many, for reasons of their own, wished it to be. But in the plan of Providence, reform and the institutions of reform had a definite work to do; a work, which the antagonisms and the petty jealousies of its detractors could not retard. And, so it has come to pass, that never has the cause of constructive reform been better championed than in these last years when its very right to exist has been put to the test. Unquestionably one of the agencies, which must be accounted responsible for the heightened enthusiasm in things Jewish, during this significant period, is this Central Conference of American Rabbis. Organized fourteen years ago, when earlier attempts to unite the Rabbis had signally failed, it has gone on, from year to year, adding strength to the pulpit and dignity to the position of the minister. Fourteen years ago, any man, who could read vowelled Hebrew with reasonable accuracy, and who could preach a sermon in the most questionable English, might assume the title of Rabbi, and there was no organization, that might question his credentials to that title. The Central Conference of American Rabbis has made imposture of this sort well-nigh impossible. And the result is, that to-day sterling character and at least reasonable education are the essential and elemental prerequisites for recognition in the Jewish pulpit. And with the heightened tone of the ministry, there has come a correspondingly higher interest in the activities of our con-

gregations. Somewhere in the Talmud it is said, that when God wishes to destroy a community, he gives it a blind leader. The reverse also is true. Intelligent and conscientious leadership is bound to result in intelligent and conscientious following.

Despite the fact, that to-day, in all parts, we hear the cry of indifference to things Jewish, we know, my brethren, that the hope of the Jew was never higher than it is to-day; that the activities of the Jew were never brighter or more telling; nay, that the outlook of the Jew was never more roseate than in our day and in this God-blessed country. (Applause.) And for this happy condition, this Central Conference is largely responsible. By elevating the place of the American Jewish ministry, it has energized its own ability, and we, rabbis, have been able to set the mark of our influence upon our congregations and communities. We hear the cry of indifference, not because our people are doing less than they have done before, but because we in our own field realize that this is the day of the Jew's opportunity, and we want our people to do more than they have ever done before. (Applause.) Perhaps the strength of our Conference is bedded in the fact, that we have never aspired to assume legislative functions, but we have contented ourselves with gaining, through conference and discussion, a higher and better understanding of our own problems and our own purposes. It is eternally untrue, that this Conference has ever helped or sanctioned the abrogation of a single vital principle, or the change of a single ceremonial, that was essential to the maintenance of our faith's integrity. (Applause.) Even in regard to the Sabbath question, we have been misrepresented, and our position has been distorted. We have not tried to destroy the Sabbath, we have attempted to save the Sabbath, and pray God, we shall do so again this week. (Applause.) But we have dared to face conditions as they are. We have dared to be honest with ourselves, and honest with our people. We have not attempted, for we have no desire, as we have no right, to legislate out of Judaism those, who differ with us in opinion, but, at the same time, we have convictions, for which we dare demand respect. Destroyers we? Yes, we may be destroyers of superstition, of hypocrisy, of blindness, but we are mainly builders according to the needs of our own life, and the spirit of our own century. For every idol

torn down, we strive to erect an ideal. For credulity uprooted, we are attempting to sow the seeds of the true faith.

True to these high principles, my brethren, you have come to us to-night, imbued, each man of you, with a fervent love for Judaism, emblemizing your desire to foster the ideals of the Jews, by the personal sacrifice you bring, in leaving your pleasant homes, you have gathered from far and near for discussion and for conference. May your meetings here be crowned with that rich fruitage, which each one of you desires. May your coming here be blessed. And when at the end of your labors you shall depart hence, may your going be in blessing. While you abide with us, our homes and our hearts, and ourselves are yours. To serve you shall be our pleasure. To make you feel at home shall be our chiefest desire. Welcome then, brethren, to this city, and to this congregation. Welcome, especially to this house, where I regret to say, another more fluent tongue than I perhaps would have welcomed you, but he is prevented from coming to-night, Mr. Louis Blitz. Welcome, I say again, and God speed you in your work. (Applause.)

Upon the conclusion of Rabbi Franklin's hearty welcome, Mayor Maybury, in happy and felicitous vein, extended greetings in the name of the city of Detroit to the Conference.

In the absence of Rabbi Krauskopf, First Vice-President of the Conference, Rabbi L. Grossmann responded to the address of welcome as follows:

My dear friends:—I respond with mingled feelings to the hospitable words that have been addressed to us. The task has been assigned to me to address you in an official capacity, but—you know—I was a member of this community and am still a friend of it. I cannot speak to you otherwise than as if I were still with you and of you. I know that you are sincere, and I can tell you, the members of this Conference, that you are indeed cordial in this offer you make to them of your hearts and homes. I bear testimony here that you have always proven yourselves worthy of respect and confidence in Israel. This congregation has an enviable record in American Judaism. It has had a share in the development of the cause

of reform, and has ardently supported every undertaking that was meant to further it. If, as your manly Rabbi says, your outlook is bright, so it is equally true that the history of Temple Beth-El has been significant of the best. Your pulpit has been occupied by men who have become eminent, Liebman Adler, Heinrich Zirndorf, Kaufman Kohler; the first, the most lovable man in the history of the American Rabbinate, the second, a man of wonderfully versatile scholarship, and the last, Kaufman Kohler, just put at the head of our great academic institution and destined to do epochal things for it. It is natural, that we should think of the great men a community had, when we come into its midst. If we ascertain what kind of men it had for leaders, we have a hint at what the community is. So then, we are glad to be in the city of Detroit, which has had representative men in its midst, and has been trained by them to appraise their Judaism highly and to serve it willingly and well. As is the laity of a community, so is its Rabbi.

That, dear friends, is almost a law in Jewish communities. There was a time when we believed that the responsibility, as also interest in it, is a sort of professional matter, relegated to the Rabbis as an official duty they alone have to bear. But we know better now. The health and dignity of Israel rest in its laity; they are the bearers of responsibility as to what the world shall understand Judaism is. We have come here to solve problems, but—after all—our discussions will be largely academic. We have problems as to how we can present our cause most clearly and most justly. And we can devote ourselves to them, because we are sure of the loyalty of the Jewish laity, because we know that they have heart in their faith and that there is not the least reason to distrust their loyalty and their faith. Judaism lives, not because its ministry devises means, artificial means to prop it up, but because fresh blood and a real spirit is in the communities, in the laity, in the Jewish people. After all, otherwise, how impotent we would be in the face of any issue, if once it would arise! Professional pedantry does not avail much at any time, least of all at a crisis. But, thank God, there is no crisis in Israel to-day. The Sabbath, around which there plays much of the storm and the stress of abstract discussion, lives, despite it. The

inefficient pleading which is made in its behalf is gratuitous, and people go to the Sabbath Service, and will go, for some time to come. Zeal is not the same thing as impatience, and a quick salvation is no salvation at all.

Now, there is the other problem, not as to what we should do for ourselves, but what the world must do for us, and as to this, too, some of us are either hotspurs or easy-going. Some of us have been martyrs so long that we believe we must be either martyrs or we are nothing. And, again, some fear bold self-assertion, and advise caution. But, whether we go at the modern world and at its inherited feelings about us, with passion, or without passion, the fact remains that, at any rate, we owe self-respect to ourselves, if we do not owe better information to the world. And there is another fact, which I state with satisfaction—the persecution the world has made us suffer has not debased us, but has enhanced our self-respect. The Jew cannot be debased. He is poor, but poverty has ennobled his soul. The Jew may have begun his history with obstinacy, he has certainly maintained it by obstinacy, a noble, an imperturbable, a classic obstinacy. The Jew walks the streets of Detroit, of Cincinnati, of New York, the narrow streets of Europe, to-day, unabashed, dignified, and he always will. We have not come to this city to re-encourage ourselves. We have sufficient courage. We have not come here to plead for ourselves and to beg the world for any tolerance it cannot afford to grant of its own accord. We have not come here to argue ourselves into things nor to argue with anybody as to illusions and delusions. We have come here because we know we have a great cause in hand, we the Rabbis, and you the laity, equally, and because we conceive this cause very seriously. We wish to tell one another what we have done for it, each one in his community, in this just and religious country; we, the American Jews, where Judaism has grown out of a dismal past into the most hopeful epoch we have ever had. There has never been so much manhood amongst us as now; never so much of the real grace of Jewish womanhood, and we are declaring our faith not only publicly, fearlessly, but also sanely, with health in our bodies and in our souls. We feel, you of this community are with us, as are all the communities of this land, and we are glad that we have the hearti-

ness of your reception and the frank avowal of your confidence. For the sake of the dignity and the destiny of Israel, we are glad we have your good-will and the offer of your support.

Rabbi Franklin hereupon introduced Dr. McCollister, pastor of the Universalist Church, who delivered a spirited fellowship address.

MESSAGE OF RABBI JOSEPH SILVERMAN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF
THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS TO
THE 14TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, DETROIT,
MICHIGAN, JUNE 29, 1903.

It is with more than ordinary pleasure that we convene in this city, at this time, for it is to this hospitable community that we perhaps owe the origin of our organization. Fourteen years ago the Union of American Hebrew Congregations assembled in this city. A few rabbis were in attendance as delegates from their respective congregations. Some had never met before. Others had met in various rabbinical conventions which, owing to bitter controversies, had adjourned sine die. There was no unanimity, no harmony of action, no organization among the rabbis of those days. That was the period when individuality asserted itself with reckless license—a time for the making and unmaking of creeds, prayer-books, Sabbath, holy days, festivals, ceremonies—in fact, of the rise and fall of religion with the coming and going of the stars on the firmament of Israel.

It so happened, however, that Providence builded better than men. This kind-hearted and generous community provided for the visiting delegates of 1889 an excursion upon Lake Erie which the few rabbis then present, both the peaceful and the belligerent, attended. And there on Lake Erie, whilst gliding on the placid waters, and partaking of the hospitality of our hosts, spontaneity accomplished what all the studied efforts of diplomatic rabbinical leaders had for years failed to do. The festive board often unites those who differ widely from one another. Conviviality is the feeder of harmony. Under those circumstances our late lamented leader, Isaac M. Wise, called the few of us then present into a state-room, and with stirring words proposed that our temporary unanimity be

made permanent, and that we constitute ourselves into a strong organization for the welfare of Judaism and the Rabbinate. Pity that the names of all those charter members have not been preserved. Pity also that the name of that boat, on which the Central Conference of American Rabbis was born, is not known. It was surely another Mayflower in whose cabin the rights of the American rabbis were recovered and the foundation set for a more glorious day of American Judaism.

We are proud of our record of the last fourteen years, and I congratulate this society of leaders which, from a mere handful, has increased to the number of one hundred and sixty, and has accomplished so much for the progress of our cause. It is customary in some quarters to belittle the work of the Central Conference and to sneer at the efforts we are putting forth to foster a spirit of fraternity, to establish right relations among rabbis and also between rabbis and congregations, to encourage scholarship and raise the standard of the rabbinical office, and aid in solving the perplexing problems of modern Judaism. We can well afford to ignore petty attacks, and I would gladly do so were it not for the duty we owe to our cause to call a halt to this form of persecution within the ranks of Israel. We expect and invite fair criticism on our work and would highly appreciate intelligent and sympathetic discussion and estimate of the deliberation of our Conference and the conclusions at which we arrive, but we feel constrained to severely rebuke those who grossly misrepresent what we do in order to deceive their constituents and then wantonly attack the caricatures which they have maliciously constructed. What, I ask, is to be gained by such tactics? What high purpose is to be served by this deliberate imposture? Is it Jewish, is it religious, is it manly for any group of men, calling themselves leaders and teachers in Israel, to refuse to concede the virtue and success of those with whom they differ, and to seek by false report and innuendo to cast reproach upon a body of earnest men who have only the sacred cause of Judaism at heart? There is room for difference in the interpretation of Israel's historical mission, and in the application of its teachings for the needs of modern times. The lenient and the rigorous views of the Schools of Hillel and Shammai have appeared in all generations and

always will manifest themselves. But there is no reason why two legitimate differences of thought and practice cannot exist side by side with mutual tolerance. A year ago we expressed the belief that a better understanding had been reached between the opposite wings of Judaism, but even during the past year there have been evidences of intolerance on the part of Orthodoxy against Reform. We trust that the leaders of Orthodoxy will repudiate the pernicious influence exercised by some small minds who enroll themselves under their banner, and will hold in check the tendency of some to misrepresent the doings of the Reform congregations and Conferences, and to vilify the leaders of religious progress. The first lesson that the Jew must teach the world, not only by precept but also in practice, is tolerance towards those who differ from them even within the camp of Israel.

THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE.

I have no desire to boast of what we have achieved, but feel that in the interest of truth and for the purpose of counteracting some pernicious slanderers, in justice to the memory of our founder, Isaac M. Wise, and in view of the fourteenth anniversary which as a Conference we celebrate to-day, in this city of our birth, a brief statement of what this organization has accomplished for the cause of Judaism will not be amiss. We have united the rabbis who formerly were opposed to one another, have created an *esprit de corps* among them—and harmonized many conflicting views and tendencies. We have brought system out of the chaos of vague and contradictory conceptions of the principles and methods of Reform Judaism. Reform was born of the license which the Jew of fifty years ago felt was his right when he landed on American shores. The Central Conference gave to the congregation a Union Prayer Book and a Union Hymnal, and thus destroyed the evils of rampant individualism by creating a uniform service. By various papers and earnest discussion a consensus of opinion was established with regard to many subjects, of which I mention only the most important, viz.: Public Worship, Marriage and Divorce, Confirmation, Proselytism, Cremation, Zionism, Interpretation of Bible and Talmud, Funeral Reforms, Jewish Encyclopedia, Rabbinical Ethics, Religious In-

struction, Circuit Preaching, Religious Propaganda, the Unaffiliated, etc. We have encouraged scholarship and have inspired many a rabbi to devote himself to some particular line of study. We have represented Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions, and have afforded to the younger men of our profession opportunities of coming into contact with the rabbis of larger experience from whose ripe wisdom much knowledge could be gained. The Conference has also created a fund for superannuated ministers, which, though still small, promises to be of great service in the future.

Altogether there is cause for congratulations on this occasion which brings us back again to the city from which we gained the first inspiration for the present unity and co-operation. And whilst we thus rejoice, it is a cause for deep sorrow that we have not with us that noble man who founded this organization which is a monument to his wisdom, foresight and executive ability. But his spirit is still with us and will guide us in the future as it did in the past.

We also regret that we must chronicle the sad fact that, during the past year three of our honored members departed from our ranks to go from "the earthly *Yeshiba* *shel malha* to the heavenly academy." First to leave us was that brave and intrepid scholar and leader,

BENJAMIN SZOLD.

He was wise and genial, penetrating and versatile, a determined and consistent defender of conservative reform. He was an ardent scholar and prolific writer, and has left many a literary treasure on which the students of future generations will feed.

Of him we may well say: "the tablets and the broken tablets were placed in the ark"—that is to say that he was honored in the days of his mental vigor, but no less so when his star had begun to grow dim.

The second to give us his last benediction both with his calm, peaceful words, and his beneficent smile was the good, the just, the true and noble-hearted

MOSES MIELZINER.

He was from the creation of this fraternity nearly to his very end an active member of the Conference—having long served as

Vice-President and as Honorary President. His contributions to Jewish literature entitle him to a niche in the Hall of Fame. As in a fiery chariot he departed, and we each cried out after him:

אבי אבי רכב ישראל ופדרשו:

"My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!"

Finally there left us for a better world that modern rabbi and leader of men who stood between the present and the past and served as an index to the future,

GUSTAVE GOTTHEIL.

He combined the knowledge of the past with modern thought in appropriate measure and served Judaism by compromising between conflicting views and aims. He instituted the office of the rabbi-pastor and introduced sociological activity into modern congregational life.

We shall later in our sessions fittingly honor the memory of these departed brethren and justly establish their place in Jewish history and literature.

I recommend that the names of all members who have died or who may depart this life, shall for ten years be inscribed, together with the year of birth and death, upon a separate page of the Year-Book under the title: "Our Immortals," or some other suitable caption. I recommend further that fitting resolutions be drawn up expressive of our feeling of sorrow over the deaths of Benjamin Szold, Moses Mielziner and Gustave Gottheil and that the same be forwarded to their respective families.

It gives me great pleasure to call your attention to the election of one of our members, the Rev. Dr. Kaufman Kohler, to the presidency of the Hebrew Union College. Ever since the death of Dr. Wise, the founder of the College, and till his demise its president, the authorities of that institution have been in search for a worthy successor. Both Europe and America were canvassed and finally the unanimous choice has fallen upon Dr. Kohler than whom no one is more worthy, both by scholarship and character, of filling the exalted chair, so long occupied by the late Isaac M. Wise, and so

acceptably filled for a temporary period by the late Moses Mielziner. Dr. Kohler is entitled to and will receive our respect and co-operation and we pray that his administration be crowned with success for the welfare of Judaism and the glory of God.

I recommend that a resolution of confidence and congratulation be voted the Rev. Dr. Kaufman Kohler, president-elect of the Hebrew Union College, and that an engrossed copy thereof be transmitted to him, and also that a letter of congratulation on the election of Dr. Kohler be forwarded to the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College.

THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE.

I pass with a saddened heart to a consideration of the events incident to the terrible massacre of our brethren at Kishineff. It would be far from the purpose of this paper to discuss the details of that horrible crime that has shocked the sensibility of the world. The facts are well known, at least those facts that have come to us either by the grace of the censor, the enterprise of newspapers or the courage of private correspondents. The whole truth has not yet, however, been told and perhaps will never be known. But of one thing we are certain, that the sun of the twentieth century civilization does not look favorably upon robbery, pillage, rapine and murder, whether undertaken under the guise of political martyrdom, or of religious fanaticism. It is reassuring to find that the civilized nations of Europe and America really sympathize with the Jews in their sad plight and do not condone the outrages committed on Russian soil—but we opine that it was not necessary for the world to permit a slaughter of the innocent in order to demonstrate its horror for crime and its sympathy for the persecuted Hebrew. We cannot, however, mistake the genuineness of the utterances that have been expressed from pulpits and platforms or in public print with regard to the injustice of anti-Semitism and the barbarity of this latest phase of modern persecutions.

Public meetings of protest and indignation have been held in almost every city of America, and in the great centres of Europe. Money has been generously contributed for the relief of those families that have been most sorely stricken by these recent calamities.

Of all those meetings none was more effective than that arranged between the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith on the one hand and President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay on the other. Mr. Leo N. Levi, the President of the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith, officially presented to the President of the United States two points for his consideration, viz.:

(a) The sending of a petition to the Czar, asking for the protection of the person, property, liberty, honor and life of every subject or citizen, without regard to his religious beliefs and practices.

(b) The calling of an international conference to consider the problem of counteracting persecution and oppression, that grow out of social and religious prejudices. Much diplomacy was exercised in properly bringing this delicate subject to the attention of our government and so strongly impressed was the President by the moderate, yet emphatic request made by the Committee, that he at once replied in an eloquent address, expressing his ardent admiration of the Jewish citizen and patriot, his sympathy and sorrow, as well as his horror over the outrage committed in Russia. This address has reverberated around the globe and has no doubt shown the Russian as well as other European governments, that America will not be silent when injustice and barbarity are practiced in any part of the world. It has now transpired that President Roosevelt has acceded to the request of the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith and has decided to forward to the Czar the petition, praying for protection of the inalienable rights of all his subjects and citizens. We must regard this act as a great victory for the American Jew and Israel at large.

In view of this action by our government it seems wise that all further agitation for public meetings of protest should cease and I, therefore, suggest that we adopt a minute to the following effect:

Firstly. Commending the wise course of the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith.

Secondly. Thanking our government for its friendly offices in forwarding the petition to the Czar.

Thirdly. Advising the public that the exigencies of the situation have been met as far as possible through diplomatic means and meetings of protest and sympathy, and

Fourthly. Thanking President Roosevelt and the chivalrous and patriotic citizens of our country for their generous sympathy—their contributions of money for the relief of the victims and their unequivocal denunciation of this crime perpetrated against Israel and humanity.

I recommend that a special committee be at once appointed to draw up such a minute, that the consideration thereof be made the particular business Wednesday morning, at 9.30 o'clock, that said minute when adopted be published and copies thereof suitably engrossed be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the President of the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith.

NEED OF ORGANIZATION.

There are some internal problems that have arisen in connection with the events described that call for our serious consideration. The Kishineff massacre has served many different purposes, not only for the arch conspirators and assassins, but also for the sympathizers of the victims. To the Zionists it has given a new impetus and has seemingly buttressed their arguments that the only solution of the Jewish question and the only escape from similar massacres, in the future is the establishment of the Palestinian kingdom. The Alliance Israelite Universelle has found in this dire catastrophe good reason for entertaining the hope that in widening its scope and strengthening its influence lies the only salvation for the wandering and persecuted Jew. Some politicians have not been slow to see the benefit of suddenly espousing the Jewish cause at the expense of Russia. The Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and other societies felt that it was their duty and their mission to use the machinery of their organizations for the amelioration of the unfortunate situation in Russia, and possibly for a prevention of its recurrence. We do not question the right of any Jewish society to exert all its power or influence in behalf of justice in general, and of Jewish interests in particular, but we regret that, owing to the existence of so many associations pursuing independently similar objects, much effort, much influence and money are often dissipated, and concerted action which might lead to quicker and better results is prevented. We often present the sad spectacle of a house divided against itself.

It must, therefore, be patent to all that our greatest need is organization, a united Israel—a central authoritative body that in crises and emergencies shall have the indisputable right to speak and act for all Israel. The Kishineff massacre and other events of a similar nature have demonstrated our lack of organization and it is high time that steps be taken toward a solution of this growing problem. I, therefore, recommend that a commission be appointed to make an exhaustive study of the subject and to report its findings to the next Conference. Said commission is to examine specifically:

1st. Into the feasibility of uniting existing fraternal orders and national educational societies.

2nd. Into the merits of the several orders and societies with a view to determining which, if any, could, by being strengthened, assume the position of a thoroughly representative body.

3rd. Into the necessity and feasibility of forming a new organization to which all existing national societies might be subordinate.

4th. Into the possibility and benefit of forming a Central Board, consisting of the Executive Committees of the various orders and national organizations, said Board to have full authority to act for all constituent societies in matters of general interest to all Israel. Under this plan each order or society would retain its own organization and autonomy and there would be no conflict when concerted and speedy action were needed.

A SYNOD.

In this connection I desire to remark that the lack of a central authority is not only felt with regard to general secular matters affecting Jewish interests but also with regard to ecclesiastical matters that are of great moment. The autonomy of congregations is jealously guarded with the result that we have almost as many phases of Judaism as we have congregations. The Central Conference of American Rabbis has mitigated this evil to a great extent by bringing the rabbis together for discussion and concerted action on matters calling for unanimity. But there is no denying the fact, that much of the value of our deliberations and conclusions is lost because we lack the means of making them effective. The Conference has thus far been only a literary and deliberative body

whose influence has only been suggestive and advisory. For many years we have felt this weakness which has been recognized by all leaders of our times and by the zealous rabbis of former generations. Every great period of ancient Israel had its Sanhedrin or Synod. A history of these would form an outline of the development of Judaism.

We feel the need of such an authoritative ecclesiastical body in Judaism to-day. Whilst the Conference endeavors to reach and often succeeds in obtaining unanimity, we have not the power to enforce our decisions.

When a year ago we reverted to this subject in our message (*vide* Year-Book, 1902, pp. 37 and 96), the Conference acted favorably thereon and agreed to the appointment of a Committee to consider the possibility and means of extending the scope and increasing the authority of the Conference. The Committee was appointed, but, owing to the death of its chairman, Dr. M. Mielziner, it has failed to act and has no report to offer. I have, therefore, undertaken to outline a tentative plan which I submit to your consideration.

I have realized the necessity of the Conference as a body of rabbis remaining intact and I propose that we create a joint meeting between the Conference and lay delegates from congregations. *This joint assembly is to be called a Synod*, and to it are to be referred such conclusions arrived at by the Conference by three-fourth vote, and for whose execution it is necessary to have congregational authority. The lay delegates to the Synod should be limited to one for every 100 members of a congregation, but every congregation that has more than 50 and less than 100 bona fide members shall be entitled to one lay delegate. Rabbis of congregations can only become members of the Synod if they belong to the conference. When a recommendation of the Conference has been endorsed by a three-fourth vote of the Synod, it shall be declared the law and practice. The Synod shall meet every two or three years.

It is imperative that such a Synod be convened at as early a date as possible for the purpose of deciding upon the following matters on which the Conference has already acted:

1. Articles of Jewish Theology.

2. How to further Sabbath Observance.
3. Best Methods of Electing Rabbis.
4. Best Methods of Gaining the Unaffiliated.
5. Intermarriage.
6. Proselytism.
7. Cremation.
8. Uniformity in Synagogue Music and Ritual.
9. Better Observance of the Festivals and Holy Days.
10. Uniform System of Religious Instruction.

CONGREGATIONAL MEMBERSHIP CARD.

By request, I present to your consideration the advisability of suggesting to congregations the issuing of a membership card for the following purposes:

1st. When a member is away from his residence city, especially on the great holy days, the card is to entitle him to courtesy in any congregation in cities where he may be sojourning.

2nd. When a family removes from one city to another, it should be the means of introduction.

This subject should also be referred to the Synod when established, but in the meantime it calls for some action on the part of the Conference.

PUBLICATIONS.

In compliance with the instructions of the Executive Committee, I have requested the members of the Conference to send me a list of their publications, exclusive of pamphlet sermons and have received many replies. Whilst a large number of members have not replied it is not to be presumed that they have not issued publications. The list that has been furnished me is sufficiently complete, however, to justify me in drawing the inference that the American Rabbi exerts himself strenuously to cultivate the fields of Jewish literature. Often the criticism is heard that the ancient rabbi was a scholar, whilst the modern rabbi is not. This criticism is unfair. Scholarship is but relative. The ancient rabbi lived in times and under conditions totally different from the present, and

delved into many subjects which to-day are not necessarily included in the curriculum of a rabbi's academic studies; and the ancient rabbi on the other hand was ignorant of many branches of learning with which the modern preacher and rabbi must be equipped. The rabbi of to-day is a scholar of no mean calibre, and readily seeks to unite the knowledge of the past with the demands of the present.

In conclusion, permit me to call your attention to the papers that will be read before this Conference on the subjects: Assyriology and the Bible.—Religious Instruction and Theology of Reformed Judaism, and also to the report of the Sabbath Commission. These topics deal with matters of vital concern to our faith, and call for earnest deliberation. Never in recent years have the members of this Conference been confronted with a better array of subjects and writers. I respectfully ask that the discussion be carried on with due regard to the importance of the themes before us and to the impression that your words will have upon those who hear as well as those who will read your views.

The Conference takes a commanding position before the country, and I would therefore, with your indulgence, impress upon you the force of the rabbinical dictum.

זהו זהור בדברך שמא מתובכם ילכדו לשגר

"Be careful of your words," lest the gentlemen of the press report you falsely.

During the past year I have received exceptional aid from the corresponding secretary and several members of the Executive Committee to all of whom I herewith make my grateful acknowledgments. For the high honor and great office you brethren have repeatedly bestowed upon me I desire to express my everlasting gratitude and appreciation.

After listening to the President's Message, the Conference adjourned till next day, 9.30 A. M.

TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1903, 9.30 A. M.

The Conference was opened with prayer by Rabbi M. Friedlander, Oakland, Cal.

The President appointed as members of the Press Committee, Rabbis Deutsch, Franklin, and L. Mannheimer, after which the

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Secretary called the roll, and the following 55 members responded to their names:

Martin Zielonka, El Paso, Tex.; Jacob S. Raisin, Port Gibson, Miss.; Moise Bergman, Grand Rapids, Mich.; A. B. Rhine, Hot Springs, Ark.; Emanuel Kahn, Ft. Smith, Ark.; Frederick Cohn, Fort Wayne, Ind.; George Zepin, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Max L. Margolis, Berkeley, Cal.; Israel Klein, Evansville, Ind.; Joseph Silverman, New York; K. Kohler, New York; Jacob Nieto, San Francisco, Cal.; Isaac L. Rypins, St. Paul, Minn.; Joseph Stoltz, Chicago; Emil M. Leipziger, Terre Haute, Ind.; Adolph Guttman, Syracuse, N. Y.; David Klein, Columbus, O.; Charles S. Levi, Peoria, Ill.; S. Hecht, Los Angeles, Cal.; A. Guttmacher, Baltimore, Md.; Charles J. Freund, Toledo, O.; Wm. Rosenau, Baltimore, Md.; Leo M. Franklin, Detroit, Mich.; M. Friedlander, Oakland, Cal.; Abram Simon, Omaha, Neb.; G. Deutsch, Cincinnati, O.; H. G. Enelow, Louisville, Ky.; Jacob Voorsanger, San Francisco, Cal.; Leo Mannheimer, Chattanooga, Tenn.; David Philipson, Cincinnati; Sol. L. Kory, Vicksburg, Miss.; Rudolph Grossmann, New York; Eugene Mannheimer, Sioux City, Ia.; George Solomon, Savannah, Ga.; Israel Aaron, Buffalo, N. Y.; Joseph S. Kornfeld, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Isaac Moses, New York; Louis Grossmann, Cincinnati, O.; David Lefkowitz, Dayton, O.; Barnett A. Elzas, Charleston, S. C.; S. H. Sonneschein, Davenport, Ia.; W. Willner, Meridian, Miss.; Samuel Hirschberg, Boston, Mass.; Edward N. Calisch, Richmond, Va.; J. L. Magnes, Cincinnati, O.; S. Wolfenstein, Cleveland, O.; A. R. Levy, Chicago, Ill.; Moses J. Gries, Cleveland, O.; Max C. Currick, Erie, Pa.; Abram Hirschberg, Chicago, Ill.; Jacob Mielziner, Helena, Mont.; Moses P. Jacobson, Shreveport, La.; Julius Rappaport, Chicago, Ill.; Tobias Schanfarber, Chicago, Ill.; Louis Wolsey, Little Rock Ark.

Treasurer Charles S. Levi then presented his report.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, FROM MAY 1, 1902, TO
JULY 1, 1903.

*To the President, Officers and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Gentlemen.—*It affords me great pleasure to submit to your close consideration the annual report of your Treasurer for the fourteen months beginning May 1, 1902, and ending July 1, 1903. This report will advise you of the fact that the unanimous resolution of the Conference to donate \$2000 to the Isaac M. Wise Memorial Fund was carried out; that our receipts exceeded our expenses by \$786.05, and that our total funds are now \$10,826.57 of which \$9500 is securely invested at 6 per cent and \$1326.57 is the balance in the German American National Bank. The diminishing of the fund from \$12,040.52 in May, 1902, to \$10,826.57 is due, first, to the donation of \$2000 to the I. M. Wise fund, and second, to the extraordinary expense of \$2202.90 for the printing of a new edition of the U. P. Book.

At one time during the past 14 months the bills were coming in so heavy and fast that your treasurer, J. P. Morgan-like, had to make a call loan of \$600, which was repaid in six months with interest at six per cent. Of course, if the members of the Conference were more prompt in paying their dues, especially those 69 owing a total of \$587.50 up to this very day, such a stringency in the Rabbinical money market of America would not have happened. If mentioning this fact will expedite the payment of dues hereafter, then all will be well. The income from the sale of the Union Prayer Books was \$3565.62; the expenses for commissions and for binding and printing and paper of a new edition were \$2793.14, leaving a net profit of \$773.48 which was transferred in equal amounts to the General and Indigent Funds. Our receipts from dues were \$785; from interest \$587, which amounts were duly placed in equal sums to the proper Fund. The Indigent Ministers' Fund is \$7427.99; the General Fund, \$3398.58. These two funds represent the assets of the treasury, \$10,826.57. There are no liabilities but outstanding dues and a two months' interest account. Members received due bills four times during the past fiscal year, from which it can be seen that neither effort nor postage was spared in the dunning department of our treasury.

The following is in detail a tabulated statement of all transactions under my administration during the past fourteen months:

MEMBERS AND DUES.

May 1, 1902, Total Membership of Conference	148
Honorary Members	6
Elected during year	17
Death of Honorary Members	3
Resigned during year	1
July 1, 1902, Total Number of Members	161
Dues remitted up to 1902	2
Members exempt from paying	2
July 1, 1903, Number of paying members enrolled	156
Dues of 122 members	\$785.00
Dues of 69 members outstanding	587.50
Members in good standing but owing \$5.00	34
Members clear on the books	87
Members owing \$10.00 and more, liable to suspension	35

From the above it will be seen that 121 members are in good standing and that 35 delinquent members owe dues amounting to \$417.50.

RECEIPTS.

Dues May 1, 1902—July 1, 1903	\$785.00
6% Interest one year to May 1, 1903, on \$10,000.....	600.00
3% Interest 2 months to July 1, 1902 on \$1,000.....	5.00

\$1,390.00

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

From Publication Committee on account of sales of U. P. B.	
1902, September 9	\$357.85
October 13	130.10
October 20	542.04
December 1	677.75
December 23	522.83
1903, April 7	378.00
May 27	550.00
June 18	407.05
	\$3,565.62

DISBURSEMENTS.

Commissions to I. S. Moses, Agent.

1902, July 11	\$65.22
October 6	55.57
November 23	97.64
1903, March 19	93.14
April 7	78.42
June 16	139.20
June 25	60.05
	\$589.24

NEW EDITION OF U. P. BOOK.

1902, October 6, Brock & Rankin, for Binding	\$1,054.42
October 6, Bradner, Smith & Co., for Mdse.	654.68
November 22, Toby Rubovitz, for printing	350.00
November 23, Brock & Rankin, for bind. & print...	143.80
	\$2,202.90

GENERAL EXPENSES.

1902, June 20, Miss De Leeuw, typewriting	\$25.40
June 20, Schwebke & Kneer, printing programs	10.75
June 20, Dr. Jos. Silverman, expenses	34.08
June 20, Wm. C. Popper & Co., printing Year Book	281.39
July 11, Dr. Max Heller, flowers	5.00
October 6, Wm. C. Popper & Co., stationery	15.35
October 6, Clifton H. Levy, editing Year Book	100.00
October 6, Emanuel Shorthand Office	50.64
October 6, Joseph Krauskopf, expenses	5.00
October 6, A. Guttmacher, expenses	8.80
October 6, E. Stern & Co., printing	8.77
December 23, Jos. Silverman, expenses	4.00
December 23, Rudolf Grossmann, expenses	5.00
December 23, A. Guttmacher, expenses	5.00
1903, April 18, Wm. C. Popper & Co., printing Year Book	510.67
April 19, Wm. C. Popper & Co., postage and ex-	
pressage	16.08
May 19, A. Guttmacher, expenses	8.00
June 16, C. S. Levi, expenses as treasurer	33.00
	\$1,126.93

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

33

DONATION I. M. WISE FUND.

1902, December 23, B. Bettman	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
1903, May 1, Interest for 6 mos. on Call Loan.....	18.00	18.00

MINISTERS' ALLOWANCE.

May, 1, 1902—July 1, 1903.....	232.50	232.50
Total Disbursements		\$6,770.57

SUMMARY.

May 1, 1892, Total Funds	\$12,040.52
May 1, 1902—July 1, 1903, Total Receipts	4,955.62
May 1, 1902—July 1, 1903, Total Disbursements	6,770.57
July 1, 1903, Balance in Treasury	10,826.57

GENERAL FUND.

To this fund is credited one-half of members' dues, one-half of net profits of Books and one-half of interest of funds invested. The general expenses and the donation of \$2,000 were paid out of this fund.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1903, Members' Dues	\$392.50
Profits from Books	336.74
Interest	293.50
May 1, 1902, Balance on Hand	\$1,022.74
	\$5,452.77

EXPENSES.

December 22, 1902, B. Bettman for I. M. Wise Fund....	\$2,000.00
July 1, 1903, General expenses	1,126.93
July 1, 1903, Balance in fund	3,126.93
	\$3,398.08

INDIGENT MINISTERS' FUND.

To this fund is credited one-half of members' dues, one-half of net profits of books and one-half of interest of funds invested. Only allowances for indigent ministers are paid out of this fund.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1903, Members' Dues	\$392.50
Profits of Books	336.74
Interest	293.50
May 1, 1902, Balance of Fund	\$1,022.74
3	\$6,587.55

EXPENSES.

July 1, 1903, Ministers' Allowance	\$232.50
Balance in Fund	7,427.99
Total of General and Ministers' Fund.....	10,826.57

INVESTMENT OF FUNDS.

May 1, 1903, Bills Receivable	\$9,500.00
July 1, 1903, German Amer. Nat. Bank.....	1,326.57
July 1, 1903, Total Funds	\$10,826.57

I submit in connection with this report the accounting of Mr. W. B. Woolner, an expert auditor. Books, vouchers, receipts and papers held in trust for the Conference are herewith presented.

With thanks for the honor and confidence shown me by the Conference, I am, with hearty congratulations upon the financial prosperity of our organization,

Yours respectfully,

CHARLES S. LEVY, *Treasurer.*

Addendum.—Since closing the books I have received from the Publication Committee, \$754.44.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

35

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF AUDITOR.

May 1, 1902, to July 1, 1903.		Disbursements.		Receipts.		Indigent Ministers Fund.		General Fund.		Indigent Ministers Fund.		General Fund.	
35 Dues	\$78.00	.....	\$382.50	.....	\$382.50	.....	\$382.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
78 Interest.....	\$18.00	60.00	288.50	.....	288.50	.....	288.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
58 Book and Printing Acct.....	2,792.14	3,565.82	386.74	.....	386.74	.....	386.74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
90 Indigent Ministers' Ex- pense.	232.50	.....	\$22.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
44 General Expense.....	1,126.48	.....	840.24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Gain.....	786.05	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Loss.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54.19	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ministers' Fund, May 1, 1902.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,587.75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" " July 1, 1903.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$7,427.98	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
General Fund, May 1, 1902.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$5,452.77	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
I. M. Wise Memorial Fund.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	,00.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
General Fund, July 1, 1903.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,386.88	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ministers' Fund.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$7,427.98	.....	.....	.....
General Fund.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,386.88	.....	.....
German Am. Nat. Bank.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,326.57	.....
Bills Receivable.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,500.00
	\$4,965.82	\$4,965.82	\$1,072.74	\$1,072.74	\$1,072.74	\$1,072.74	\$1,072.74	\$1,072.74	\$1,126.88	\$1,126.88	\$7,427.98	\$7,427.98	\$10,826.57

O. R., W. B. WOOLNER, Auditor.

The foregoing report was referred to the following committee: Hecht, Zielonka and Kornfeld.

The report of the committee on Union Hymnal was read.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Gentlemen.—The committee on Union Hymnal begs to report a continued increase in the sale of the Hymnal. From the detailed report hereto annexed it will be observed that 1031 copies have been disposed of since the last session. A fourth edition has been published and the entire cost of the same has been paid out of the proceeds of sales; a cash surplus of \$69.32 is on hand, and only two accounts one of \$17.50 and one of \$20.00 remain outstanding. This is the best evidence that the Hymnal is constantly increasing in popularity. There is still a considerable number of congregations which have not yet given the book a trial and the committee would again urge the members to use their influence with these in behalf of the hymnal, so that it may in reality become what it was intended to be, a bond of union for all congregations throughout the land.

Respectfully,

ALOIS KAISER.

BALTIMORE, JUNE 23, 1903.

UNION HYMNAL ACCOUNT.

Sales from May 1, 1902 to June 23, 1903.

1902.	Names	No. of Copies	Paid	Out-standing
July	2. Temple Emanuel, Vancouver, B. C.....	12	\$6.00	....
"	2. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
"	25. N. Cowen & Sons, Long Branch, N. J.....	6	3.00	....
Sept.	14. H. Schlesinger, Lincoln, Neb.....	12	6.00	....
"	18. Rev. Dr. Wolfenstein, Cleveland, Ohio....	50	20.00	....
"	23. Temple Emanuel, Vancouver, B. C.....	24	12.00	....
"	24. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	100	33.24	....
"	24. Rabbi Traugott, Springfield, Ill.....	1	.50	....
"	30. Temple Emanuel, New York.....	200	70.00	....
Oct.	4. H. Malinow, Los Angeles, Cal.....	12	6.00	....
"	5. Oheb Shalom Congregation, Baltimore, Md.	50	17.50	....
"	13. First Hebrew Congregation, Baltimore, Md.	50	20.00	....
"	20. Rev. Dr. R. Grossmann, New York.....	50	20.00	....
"	21. Rabbi A. S. Anspacher, Scranton, Pa.....	50	....	20.00
"	22. H. Malinow, Los Angeles, Cal.....	6	3.00	....
"	24. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
"	26. G. Pessels, Austin, Texas	4	2.00	....
"	29. Rabbi Traugott, Springfield, Ill.....	2	1.00	....
Nov.	12. Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.....	18	9.00	....
Dec.	4. Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Greenburg, Dallas, Texas	25	12.50	....
 1903.				
Jan.	8. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
"	16. Rev. Dr. R. Grossmann, New York	12	6.00	....
"	16. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	75	25.00	....
"	17. Day Nursery of New York City, ordered by Rev. Dr. Jos. Silverman.....	3	gratis.	....
"	19. Young Women's Hebrew Association of New York City, ordered by Rev. Dr. Jos. Silverman	25	gratis.	....
Mar.	4. Rev. Dr. R. Grossmann, New York	38	14.00	....
Apr.	22. Mr. Bendetson, Battle Creek, Mich.....	5	2.50	....
"	23. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
June	8. A. B. Townsen, New York.....	1	.50	....
		1031	\$356.52	\$20.00

2. How to further Sabbath Observance.
3. Best Methods of Electing Rabbis.
4. Best Methods of Gaining the Unaffiliated.
5. Intermarriage.
6. Proselytism.
7. Cremation.
8. Uniformity in Synagogue Music and Ritual.
9. Better Observance of the Festivals and Holy Days.
10. Uniform System of Religious Instruction.

CONGREGATIONAL MEMBERSHIP CARD.

By request, I present to your consideration the advisability of suggesting to congregations the issuing of a membership card for the following purposes:

1st. When a member is away from his residence city, especially on the great holy days, the card is to entitle him to courtesy in any congregation in cities where he may be sojourning.

2nd. When a family removes from one city to another, it should be the means of introduction.

This subject should also be referred to the Synod when established, but in the meantime it calls for some action on the part of the Conference.

PUBLICATIONS.

In compliance with the instructions of the Executive Committee, I have requested the members of the Conference to send me a list of their publications, exclusive of pamphlet sermons and have received many replies. Whilst a large number of members have not replied it is not to be presumed that they have not issued publications. The list that has been furnished me is sufficiently complete, however, to justify me in drawing the inference that the American Rabbi exerts himself strenuously to cultivate the fields of Jewish literature. Often the criticism is heard that the ancient rabbi was a scholar, whilst the modern rabbi is not. This criticism is unfair. Scholarship is but relative. The ancient rabbi lived in times and under conditions totally different from the present, and

delved into many subjects which to-day are not necessarily included in the curriculum of a rabbi's academic studies; and the ancient rabbi on the other hand was ignorant of many branches of learning with which the modern preacher and rabbi must be equipped. The rabbi of to-day is a scholar of no mean calibre, and readily seeks to unite the knowledge of the past with the demands of the present.

In conclusion, permit me to call your attention to the papers that will be read before this Conference on the subjects: Assyriology and the Bible.—Religious Instruction and Theology of Reformed Judaism, and also to the report of the Sabbath Commission. These topics deal with matters of vital concern to our faith, and call for earnest deliberation. Never in recent years have the members of this Conference been confronted with a better array of subjects and writers. I respectfully ask that the discussion be carried on with due regard to the importance of the themes before us and to the impression that your words will have upon those who hear as well as those who will read your views.

The Conference takes a commanding position before the country, and I would therefore, with your indulgence, impress upon you the force of the rabbinical dictum.

וְהוּ זָהָר בַּדְבִּרְךָ שֶׁמְאָמָתָה כְּפֹדוֹ לְשָׁגָר

"Be careful of your words," lest the gentlemen of the press report you falsely.

During the past year I have received exceptional aid from the corresponding secretary and several members of the Executive Committee to all of whom I herewith make my grateful acknowledgments. For the high honor and great office you brethren have repeatedly bestowed upon me I desire to express my everlasting gratitude and appreciation.

After listening to the President's Message, the Conference adjourned till next day, 9.30 A. M.

TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1903, 9.30 A. M.

The Conference was opened with prayer by Rabbi M. Friedlander, Oakland, Cal.

The President appointed as members of the Press Committee, Rabbis Deutsch, Franklin, and L. Mannheimer, after which the

Secretary called the roll, and the following 55 members responded to their names:

Martin Zielonka, El Paso, Tex.; Jacob S. Raisin, Port Gibson, Miss.; Moise Bergman, Grand Rapids, Mich.; A. B. Rhine, Hot Springs, Ark.; Emanuel Kahn, Ft. Smith, Ark.; Frederick Cohn, Fort Wayne, Ind.; George Zepin, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Max L. Margolis, Berkeley, Cal.; Israel Klein, Evansville, Ind.; Joseph Silverman, New York; K. Kohler, New York; Jacob Nieto, San Francisco, Cal.; Isaac L. Rypins, St. Paul, Minn.; Joseph Stoltz, Chicago; Emil M. Leipziger, Terre Haute, Ind.; Adolph Guttman, Syracuse, N. Y.; David Klein, Columbus, O.; Charles S. Levi, Peoria, Ill.; S. Hecht, Los Angeles, Cal.; A. Gutmacher, Baltimore, Md.; Charles J. Freund, Toledo, O.; Wm. Rosenau, Baltimore, Md.; Leo M. Franklin, Detroit, Mich.; M. Friedlander, Oakland, Cal.; Abram Simon, Omaha, Neb.; G. Deutsch, Cincinnati, O.; H. G. Enelow, Louisville, Ky.; Jacob Voorsanger, San Francisco, Cal.; Leo Mannheimer, Chattanooga, Tenn.; David Philipson, Cincinnati; Sol. L. Kory, Vicksburg, Miss.; Rudolph Grossmann, New York; Eugene Mannheimer, Sioux City, Ia.; George Solomon, Savannah, Ga.; Israel Aaron, Buffalo, N. Y.; Joseph S. Kornfeld, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Isaac Moses, New York; Louis Grossmann, Cincinnati, O.; David Lefkowitz, Dayton, O.; Barnett A. Elzas, Charleston, S. C.; S. H. Sonneschein, Davenport, Ia.; W. Willner, Meridian, Miss.; Samuel Hirschberg, Boston, Mass.; Edward N. Calisch, Richmond, Va.; J. L. Magnes, Cincinnati, O.; S. Wolfenstein, Cleveland, O.; A. R. Levy, Chicago, Ill.; Moses J. Gries, Cleveland, O.; Max C. Currick, Erie, Pa.; Abram Hirschberg, Chicago, Ill.; Jacob Mielziner, Helena, Mont.; Moses P. Jacobson, Shreveport, La.; Julius Rappaport, Chicago, Ill.; Tobias Schanfarber, Chicago, Ill.; Louis Wolsey, Little Rock, Ark.

Treasurer Charles S. Levi then presented his report.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, FROM MAY 1, 1902, TO
JULY 1, 1903.

*To the President, Officers and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Gentlemen.—*It affords me great pleasure to submit to your close consideration the annual report of your Treasurer for the fourteen months beginning May 1, 1902, and ending July 1, 1903. This report will advise you of the fact that the unanimous resolution of the Conference to donate \$2000 to the Isaac M. Wise Memorial Fund was carried out; that our receipts exceeded our expenses by \$786.05, and that our total funds are now \$10,826.57 of which \$9500 is securely invested at 6 per cent and \$1326.57 is the balance in the German American National Bank. The diminishing of the fund from \$12,040.52 in May, 1902, to \$10,826.57 is due, first, to the donation of \$2000 to the I. M. Wise fund, and second, to the extraordinary expense of \$2202.90 for the printing of a new edition of the U. P. Book.

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November 23, Brock & Rankin, for bind. & print.	143.80
	\$2,202.90

GENERAL EXPENSES.

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June 20, Schwabke & Kneer, printing programs	10.75
June 20, Dr. Jos. Silverman, expenses	34.08
June 20, Wm. C. Popper & Co., printing Year Book	281.39
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December 23, A. Guttmacher, expenses	5.00
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April 19, Wm. C. Popper & Co., postage and ex- pressage	16.08
May 19, A. Guttmacher, expenses	8.00
June 16, C. S. Levi, expenses as treasurer	33.00
	\$1,126.93

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

33

DONATION I. M. WISE FUND.

1902, December 23, B. Bettman	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
1903, May 1, Interest for 6 mos. on Call Loan.....	18.00	18.00

MINISTERS' ALLOWANCE.

May, 1, 1902—July 1, 1903.....	232.50	232.50
Total Disbursements		\$6,770.57

SUMMARY.

May 1, 1892, Total Funds	\$12,040.52
May 1, 1902—July 1, 1903, Total Receipts	4,955.62
May 1, 1902—July 1, 1903, Total Disbursements	6,770.57
July 1, 1903, Balance in Treasury	10,826.57

GENERAL FUND.

To this fund is credited one-half of members' dues, one-half of net profits of Books and one-half of interest of funds invested. The general expenses and the donation of \$2,000 were paid out of this fund.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1903, Members' Dues	\$392.50
Profits from Books	336.74
Interest	293.50
May 1, 1902, Balance on Hand	\$1,022.74
	\$5,452.77

EXPENSES.

December 22, 1902, B. Bettman for I. M. Wise Fund....	\$2,000.00
July 1, 1903, General expenses	1,126.93
July 1, 1903, Balance in fund	3,126.93
	\$3,398.08

INDIGENT MINISTERS' FUND.

To this fund is credited one-half of members' dues, one-half of net profits of books and one-half of interest of funds invested. Only allowances for indigent ministers are paid out of this fund.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1903, Members' Dues	\$392.50
Profits of Books	336.74
Interest	293.50
May 1, 1902, Balance of Fund	\$1,022.74
3	\$6,587.55

EXPENSES.

July 1, 1903, Ministers' Allowance	\$232.50
Balance in Fund	7,427.99
Total of General and Ministers' Fund.....	10,826.57

INVESTMENT OF FUNDS.

May 1, 1903, Bills Receivable	\$9,500.00
July 1, 1903, German Amer. Nat. Bank.....	1,326.57
July 1, 1903, Total Funds	\$10,826.57

I submit in connection with this report the accounting of Mr. W. B. Woolner, an expert auditor. Books, vouchers, receipts and papers held in trust for the Conference are herewith presented.

With thanks for the honor and confidence shown me by the Conference, I am, with hearty congratulations upon the financial prosperity of our organization,

Yours respectfully,

CHARLES S. LEVY, *Treasurer.*

Addendum.—Since closing the books I have received from the Publication Committee, \$754.44.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

35

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF AUDITOR.

May 1, 1902, to July 1, 1903.		Disbursements Received.	Indigent Minis- ters Fund.	General Fund.	Indigent Minis- ters' Fund.	General Fund.
35 Dues	\$785.00	.....	\$892.50	.....	\$382.50	.....
78 Interest.....	\$18.00	605.00	208.50	.....	283.50	.....
56 Book and Printing Acct....	2,782.14	3,565.62	380.74	.....	386.74	.....
90 Indigent Ministers, Ex- pense.....	232.50	.....	\$232.50	.....	.....	.....
44 General Expense.....	1,128.48	.....	.....	\$1,128.98	.....	.....
Gain.....	786.05	.....	840.24	.....	\$840.24	.....
Loss.....	.....	.....	.....	64.19	.....	\$64.19
Ministers' Fund, May 1, 1902.	.....	.....	.....	6,587.75	.....	.....
" " July 1, 1903.	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$7,427.90	.....
General Fund, May 1, 1902.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$5,452.77
I. M. Wise Memorial Fund.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	+\$0.00
General Fund, July 1, 1903.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,398.58
Ministers' Fund.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$7,427.90
General Fund.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,398.58
German Am. Nat. Park.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,926.57
Bills Receivable.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,500.00
	\$4,465.62	\$4,965.62	\$1,072.74	\$1,072.74	\$1,126.93	\$1,126.93
					\$5,452.77	\$5,452.77
					\$10,896.57	\$10,896.57

O. K., W. B. WOOLNER, Auditor.

The foregoing report was referred to the following committee: Hecht, Zielonka and Kornfeld.

The report of the committee on Union Hymnal was read.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Gentlemen.—The committee on Union Hymnal begs to report a continued increase in the sale of the Hymnal. From the detailed report hereto annexed it will be observed that 1031 copies have been disposed of since the last session. A fourth edition has been published and the entire cost of the same has been paid out of the proceeds of sales; a cash surplus of \$69.32 is on hand, and only two accounts one of \$17.50 and one of \$20.00 remain outstanding. This is the best evidence that the Hymnal is constantly increasing in popularity. There is still a considerable number of congregations which have not yet given the book a trial and the committee would again urge the members to use their influence with these in behalf of the hymnal, so that it may in reality become what it was intended to be, a bond of union for all congregations throughout the land.

Respectfully,

ALOIS KAISER.

BALTIMORE, JUNE 23, 1903.

UNION HYMNAL ACCOUNT.

Sales from May 1, 1902 to June 23, 1903.

1902.	Names	No. of Copies	Paid	Out-standing
July	2. Temple Emanuel, Vancouver, B. C.....	12	\$6.00	....
"	2. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
"	25. N. Cowen & Sons, Long Branch, N. J.....	6	3.00	....
Sept.	14. H. Schlesinger, Lincoln, Neb.....	12	6.00	....
"	18. Rev. Dr. Wolfenstein, Cleveland, Ohio....	50	20.00	....
"	23. Temple Emanuel, Vancouver, B. C.....	24	12.00	....
"	24. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	100	33.24	....
"	24. Rabbi Traugott, Springfield, Ill.....	1	.50	....
"	30. Temple Emanuel, New York.....	200	70.00	....
Oct.	4. H. Malinow, Los Angeles, Cal.....	12	6.00	....
"	5. Oheb Shalom Congregation, Baltimore, Md.	50	17.50	....
"	13. First Hebrew Congregation, Baltimore, Md.	50	20.00	....
"	20. Rev. Dr. R. Grossmann, New York.....	50	20.00	....
"	21. Rabbi A. S. Anspacher, Scranton, Pa.....	50	....	20.00
"	22. H. Malinow, Los Angeles, Cal.....	6	3.00	....
"	24. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
"	26. G. Pessels, Austin, Texas	4	2.00	....
"	29. Rabbi Traugott, Springfield, Ill.....	2	1.00	....
Nov.	12. Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.....	18	9.00	....
Dec.	4. Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Greenburg, Dallas, Texas	25	12.50	....
 1903.				
Jan.	8. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
"	16. Rev. Dr. R. Grossmann, New York	12	6.00	....
"	16. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	75	25.00	....
"	17. Day Nursery of New York City, ordered by Rev. Dr. Jos. Silverman.....	3	gratis.	....
"	19. Young Women's Hebrew Association of New York City, ordered by Rev. Dr. Jos. Silverman	25	gratis.	....
Mar.	4. Rev. Dr. R. Grossmann, New York	38	14.00	....
Apr.	22. Mr. Bendetson, Battle Creek, Mich.....	5	2.50	....
"	23. Bloch Pub. Co., New York, $\frac{1}{3}$ off.....	50	16.67	....
June	8. A. B. Townsen, New York.....	1	.50	....
		1031	\$356.52	\$20.00

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

UNION HYMNAL ACCOUNT.

Covering the period from May 1, 1902 to June 23, 1903.

RECEIPTS.

To Balance in hand of Treasurer, May 1, 1902	\$153.58
" Sales	356.52
" Outstanding Accounts collected	37.50
	<hr/>
	\$547.60

DISBURSEMENTS.

By Kohn & Pollock, for circulars.....	\$2.50
" Stamped envelopes for circulars.....	4.38
" Printing and binding 2334 copies at \$0.20	466.80
" Postage to date.....	4.60
	<hr/>
	\$478.28

Balance in hand of Treasurer, June 23,
1903

69.32

\$547.60

SUMMARY.

Cash balance in Treasury, June 23, 1903	\$69.32
Outstanding old account, Chattanooga, Tenn.	17.50
Outstanding new account, Scranton, Pa.....	20.00
1638 copies stock, at \$0.30.....	564.30
218 plates, at \$2.25.....	562.80
	<hr/>
Total Assets.....	\$1233.92

STOCK.

On hand, May 1, 1902.....	335 copies.
Printed in excess of third edition and accepted by the Committee.....	215 "
Fourth edition .....	.2119 "
	<hr/>
Total .....	.2669 "

Sold up to June 23, 1903.....
1031 "

Total Assets.....

\$547.60

LIABILITIES.

None, except a few dollars for packing, etc.,
bill for which has not yet been presented.

Respectfully,

Alois KAISER.

BALTIMORE, June 23, 1903.

This report was referred to the following committee: Elzas, Enelow, and Fred. Cohen.

The following committee on Resolutions was then appointed: I. S. Moses, Philipson, Voorsanger, L. Grossmann and J. R. Raisin.

Committee on Historical Exhibit reported:

To the President and Members of the Central Conference. Gentlemen.— My only report on the Jewish Historical Exhibit is the following letter, which explains itself:

MAY 15, 1903.

Dear Doctor Harris:

I have your letter of the 6th. The American Jewish Historical Society has decided, in view of the many projects now under way, and the virtual impossibility of securing a fire-proof exhibition hall, not to push the Jewish Historical Exhibit at present, but rather to make a collection on the part of the Society which might ultimately grow into a permanent exhibition.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

CYRUS ADLER.

REVEREND DOCTOR MAURICE H. HARRIS,
10 East 129th Street,
New York City.

In view of this communication, gentlemen, I would suggest the honorable discharge of this committee.

Respectfully submitted,

MAURICE H. HARRIS.

P. S. I regret that circumstances, over which I have no control, prevent my presenting this report in person.

The report was accepted and the committee discharged.

Rabbi I. S. Moses asked the Conference to afford Mr. Ehrlich, of New York, the opportunity of explaining a few Psalms, in the light of his exegesis. The request was granted, and Wednesday 9 a. m. set as the hour for this purpose.

Report of Corresponding Secretary was presented:

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Detroit, Mich.

Gentlemen: As your Corresponding Secretary, I beg to report that the work of my office has received my most earnest and careful attention. I have

written several hundred letters during the past year, consisting of correspondence with members of the Conference on matters pertaining to the work of the Conference or relating to the annual program, of invitations to the monthly meetings of the Executive Board and the annual meeting of the Conference itself, and of circular letters to the members issued by the authorization of the President or the Board. I have kept and placed on file typewritten copies of all letters issued by me.

With the kind permission of the Executive Board, I engaged the services of a most competent stenographer, Miss E. De Leeuw, who has rendered me most valuable assistance in the performance of my duties.

In previous years it has devolved upon the Corresponding Secretary to prepare and issue the Year Book—a work demanding a stupendous expenditure of time and effort. In accordance with a resolution passed by the Executive Board, Rabbi Clifton H. Levy was engaged to act as Editor of the Year Book of 1902, and the splendid appearance and correct typography of the book bear testimony to the excellent manner in which he has performed his duties. While the expense incurred in its issue is somewhat greater than in previous years, this can be accounted for partly by its larger size and the fact that the copies sent to our members were bound, and not, as heretofore, in pamphlet form, and partly by the numerous mistakes made by the stenographer who reported the proceedings of the New Orleans Conference, which necessitated many changes in the proofs submitted by the printer. I have sent a copy of the Year Book to the leading libraries, universities and theological seminaries—Jewish and Christian—in America and Europe.

I beg to offer the following suggestions:

I. That the next Executive Board shall be empowered to engage the services of some competent person who shall not only edit the new Year Book, but who shall prepare an elaborate index of all the Year Books thus far issued by the Conference; and also draw up a correct copy of the Constitution of the Conference, including all laws and amendments passed at its several meetings—all these, together with the index, to be printed as a separate volume; and reissue the first and second volumes of the Year Book.

II. That the Corresponding Secretary be authorized to purchase a letter-press, copy-books, and such other paraphernalia as he may deem necessary for the businesslike conduct of his office and for the safekeeping of the documents, letters, etc., entrusted to his care. I regard this suggestion of the utmost importance, inasmuch as the archives of the Conference will be of incalculable value to the future historian of American Judaism, and these archives cannot be properly and safely kept unless letters be properly filed and copied and stored away in safe receptacles.

III. That the members of the Conference be urgently requested to notify the Secretary not only of any change in their address or positions, but of any new titles or important positions bestowed upon them, and any book

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS 41

or pamphlet apart from sermons issued by them during the year. By this means, the Secretary would have a record of all important occurrences in the professional career of the members that might be utilized in the preparation of a résumé of the leading events in American Israel during that particular year.

I desire to take this occasion to express my hearty appreciation to the President and members of the Executive Board for the uniform kindness they have shown me, and the valuable assistance they have given me during my term of service.

Assuring the Conference of my gratitude for the honor bestowed upon me and with my best wishes for its continued prosperity, I am,

Fraternally,

RUDOLPH GROSSMANN,
Corresponding Secretary.

The Conference then listened to a paper on "Assyriology and the Bible, an answer to Delitzsch's 'Babel and Bibel,'" by Dr. Kohler. The paper was discussed by Rabbis Philipson, Elzas and Willner. (For paper and discussions, *vide* Appendix.)

Rabbi Geo. Solomon conveyed to the Conference the greetings of the Southern Rabbinical Association. Recess was then taken until 2 p. m.

TUESDAY 2 P. M.

Discussion on Dr. Kohler's paper was continued. The following participated: Margolis, Deutsch, Enelow, F. Cohen; with concluding words by Kohler (*vide* Appendix).

The following resolutions were then presented and unanimously approved:

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

Moritz Lazarus, not unjustly called the Mendelssohn of the nineteenth century, passed away in his seventy-ninth year, at Meran, Austria, April 13. It is unnecessary to point out before a convention of rabbis the immortal value of the author of Jewish Ethics and of the life of Jeremiah, who, aside from being one of the leading exponents of modern philosophy, has been one of the leading figures in modern Jewish history. His addresses at the synods of Leipsic and Augsburg, his sympathetic sketches of Jewish life in his "Treu und Frei," and his participation in Jewish communal life, so rare

in men who have won prominence in academic life and in scientific literature, call for a tribute of gratitude; be it therefore

Resolved, That we record our feeling of sorrow at the demise of Moritz Lazarus and our gratitude for his everlasting contributions to Jewish literature, and that we express our heartfelt sympathy to his widow, Mrs. Nahida Ruth Lazarus, in her bereavement.

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH.

M. L. MARGOLIS.

LEO MANNHEIMER.

ISAAC S. MOSES.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

One of the greatest sculptors of modern times has passed away in Mark Antokolski, who died at Wiesbaden, July 9, 1902. The mere fact that a son of the ghetto of Wilna has won such fame as to have caused the Russian Academy of Arts to pay him a tribute of admiration, is a refutation both of the charges against the Jews in general as being bare of originality in art and against our Russian brethren in particular as a danger and a detriment to their country. Withal, aside from the fact that his themes frequently were taken from Jewish life and history, all the masterpieces of his art are conceded to be permeated by a true Jewish spirit. It is therefore eminently fit that the Central Conference of American Rabbis record its sorrow at the demise of the great artist whose very life was a vindication of Judaism and the condemnation of the outrages of Kishineff.

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH.

LEO MANNHEIMER.

BARNETT A. ELZAS.

FREDERICK COHN.

H. G. ENELOW.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

הסידר אומות העולם Since our Conference met in its last convocation, three of who have valiantly fought for justice to Israel and for the ideals of a human brotherhood have passed away. On the 25th of November, 1902 Rudolph Virchow, one of the world's leading scientists, died; on the 29th of the same month, the great French novelist, Emile Zola, succumbed to an unfortunate accident, and on the 2d of November, 1902, Heinrich Rickert, the President of the Verein zur Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus, departed this life. It seems to the undersigned the eminent duty of this Conference to give expression to our grateful appreciation of the courageous attitude of Virchow and Rickert, who, at the time when anti-Semitism was the safest way to

political success, combated racial prejudice and remained true to the ideals of a united humanity which our prophets have taught and which will at one time become realities **באהרת הימים**. We especially desire to record our gratitude to the memory of Emile Zola, whose unselfish attitude in the cause of Alfred Dreyfus is the noblest leaf in the wreath of fame which posterity will place on the brow of the great novelist. Be it therefore

Resolved, That the expression of our gratitude to these noble men be recorded in the minutes of this meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH.
DAVID PHILIPSON.
CHARLES S. LEVY.
A. SIMON.
W. WILLNER.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

Professor Abraham Berliner, Ph. D., of Berlin, celebrated his seventieth birthday on May 3. Professor Berliner has for forty years been among the foremost workers in the field of Jewish history and literature. Be it therefore

Resolved, To extend to the aged scholar the expression of our gratitude for the meritorious work which he has done and to send to him one subscription for the Mekize Nirdamim Society, of which he is the manager and promoter, for the H. U. C. Library.

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH.
S. H. SONNESCHEIN.
S. HECHT.
ISAAC S. MOSES.
JOSEPH STOLZ.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

Dr. Michael Friedlaender, principal of Jews' College of London, celebrated recently his seventieth birthday. His literary work in the field of mediæval philosophical literature, especially his translation of Maimonides' Moreh Nebuchim, and his text-book of Jewish religion, have won for him a lasting place in the history of Jewish literature. While the majority of the members of this Conference are not in agreement with Dr. Friedlaender's religious views, we nevertheless gratefully acknowledge the worth of his scientific labors, and consider it our duty to present to him our hearty wishes for the declining years of his life, hoping that he may be spared to enrich our literature with his scholarly pen.

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH.
W. WILLNER.
JACOB NIETO.
MARCUS FRIEDLANDER.
GEORGE SOLOMON.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

In recognition of the services that Baron Horace de Günzburg, of St. Petersburg, Russia, has rendered Judaism and the Jewish cause, both by his philanthropic works and by championing the cause of Jewish education and science, as President *מפעץ' השכלה ב' שמות*; and

WHEREAS, Baron Horace de Günzburg reached his seventieth anniversary on February 10, 1903, an event which was celebrated by his friends and admirers all over the world; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis extend to Baron Horace de Günzburg its heartiest congratulations on the occasion of his seventieth anniversary.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Baron Günzburg, and spread upon the minutes of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

A. B. RHINE.
G. DEUTSCH.
L. GROSSMAN.
I. S. RAISIN.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

Dr. H. Brody, who has done very meritorious work in the lines of mediæval Jewish literature, has prepared the material for an edition of the poems of Solomon ibn Gabirol. The works of this great singer in Israel have hitherto been neglected, just as his merits in the field of philosophy had to wait for eight centuries until they were recognized. It is therefore worthy of grateful recognition that Ibn Gabirol's works shall finally be resuscitated. Be it therefore

Resolved, That this Conference appropriate the sum of one hundred marks (\$24.00) to aid the edition of Gabirol's work, and that the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis be requested to assist the editor by individual subscriptions.

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH.
FREDERICK COHN.
BARNETT A. ELZAS.

DETROIT, MICH., June 29, 1903.

It is generally recognized that the greatest Jewish literary undertaking of modern times is the Jewish Encyclopedia. It is meet and proper that this organization encourage in a manner other than verbal its appreciation of this great work. Therefore be it

Resolved, That this Conference subscribe yearly for a copy of the Jewish Encyclopedia, and this copy to be offered as a prize in three successive years

to that student of the senior class of the Hebrew Union College who will write the best essay on a subject to be assigned by the Faculty of that institution.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON.

JACOB VOORSANGER.

ABRAM SIMON.

EDWARD N. CALISCH.

Rabbi Stoltz presented the report of committee on Marriage-Agenda:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE-AGENDA.

Your Committee, appointed to submit a marriage-agenda to the Conference for a prospective Ministers' Handbook, begs leave to report that such an agenda has already been submitted to the Conference by Dr. Mielziner in the year 1901 and, having received its sanction, has been published in the Year Book of 1901, page 42.

Moreover, finding upon correspondence with a number of rabbis that their marriage ceremony agrees in practically every detail with the ceremony adopted by the Conference, we recommend for consistency's sake and out of reverence to the memory of our Honorary President, a re-publication of the ceremony prepared by the late Dr. Mielziner, who was a recognized authority on the subject of marriage and who has taught his marriage ceremony to most of the rabbis now occupying pulpits in this country.

We would further recommend that, for the guidance of the American Rabbinate, some specimen marriage addresses be collected and published by the Conference in its prospective Ministers' Handbook.

Respectfully submitted by

TOBIAS SCHANFARBER.

JOSEPH STOLZ.

Prof. Deutsch then read his paper on "Munk" (*vide* Appendix).

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, 1903, 9.30 A. M.

The Conference was called to order by the President. Prayer was offered by Rabbi Freund.

The members then listened to the explanation of some of the i'salms by Mr. Ehrlich.

Rabbi Philipson then presented report of committee on Relation between Rabbi and Congregation. He prefaced his report with the following remarks:

Before reading this report I must make this statement. I believe this matter can be considered only by an organization in which both sides are represented. We can only speak for the Rabbinical side. The congregational side is not represented here. So, of course, whatever we may discuss will only be a matter of discussion and deliberation. I must also state the other two members of my committee are not here. I was not able to submit my report to them. I wrote, however, to both, and from a line received from Rabbi Leucht I have his idea quite fully. I have embodied most of his ideas in this report in one way or another. From Rabbi Samfield I have not heard.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELATION BETWEEN RABBI AND CONGREGATION.

The spiritual welfare of the Jewish community depends upon the mutual relationship of rabbi and congregation. This relationship is unique. True, the congregation employs the rabbi, and the rabbi serves the congregation, but the attitude of the one to the other is not that of employer to employee, or of servant to master. The relation should be that of mutual confidence and respect; the congregation, through its board, should feel that the rabbi's position is an honorable one and that in honoring him they honor themselves; the rabbi should feel that his congregation is a sacred charge, and do everything for his people in the spirit of holy sincerity. They should stand to one another in a relation as close as that which unites the members of a household. Where this mutual confidence exists, the high cause wherein both are enlisted will be truly furthered and the religious life will be exalted.

The congregation that upholds the dignity of its rabbi benefits old and young alike, inasmuch as they derive instruction, inspiration and comfort from him who ministers to their spiritual needs and reverence for him is in harmony with the traditional sentiment expressed by our sages in the words, **מורא רבך כמורא שמים**

To realize this high ideal in our congregational life, we beg to submit the following propositions:

(a) THE ELECTION OF THE RABBI.

We discountenance the so-called "trial sermon" except in the case of the rabbinical novice, who is just entering the pulpit, or of such as have been in office only a short time and of whose capacity there is no other means of

judging. But in all other cases we are of the opinion that it would add to the dignity of both the congregation seeking a minister, and the candidates desiring the position, if some other method were pursued than that now commonly in vogue of having the candidate come, place himself on exhibition and preach one or two trial sermons, which may be no test of the man's ability whatever. We suggest as far preferable that the congregation in search of a minister appoint a committee to go and hear the rabbi they think of engaging, in his own pulpit, twice or thrice; this will be a far better test than a dozen trial sermons; then, if this committee is satisfied with his preaching, his character and his work and standing in the community where he has lived and labored, and upon consultation with him find that he seems to be the man for whom they are seeking, the congregation will be prepared the better to extend him a call.

(b) THE TERM OF THE RABBI.

It is to the advantage of both congregation and rabbi that they become closely identified with one another's interests; therefore the practice prevalent in many congregations of electing a rabbi for one or two years after he has proved his fitness for the position during a year of probation should be discontinued. It is the fruitful source of dissension in the congregation and of uneasiness for the rabbi. Every annual election involves a possible ruffling of the congregational peace. One of two methods should become customary; either an election for a long term of years, or, preferably, an election for an undetermined term, with the understanding that either party to the contract can dissolve it for sufficient reasons.

If a congregation's constitution provides for the annual or biennial election of its minister, the Conference suggests that such congregation be requested to change its law in conformity with this paragraph.

(c) THE QUESTION OF CONTRACT.

In case of the election of the rabbi and his acceptance of the office, it goes without saying that he should remain faithful to his contract unless released by the congregation. However, should a rabbi desire to leave his charge for another in view of the larger field of usefulness that it opens for him, we cannot but consider it unwise for his congregation to prevent him, for his work will suffer, and under such circumstances it is better for both parties to sever the connection. Should the congregation insist upon the bond in spite of the apparent dissatisfaction of the rabbi, nothing remains for the latter but to continue at his post, or, in case of departure, to lay himself open to the charge of not keeping faith. However, in all such difficult cases, this Conference offers its good offices to bring about a mutual understanding between both parties.

(d) THE RABBI AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

If anyone has the interest of the congregation at heart, it is the rabbi. There should be perfect confidence between the board, as the representative of the

congregation, and the rabbi. In order that they may be able to keep in full touch with one another, the rabbi should be an honorary member of the board and be privileged to attend its meetings. He gives more attention and study to the religious needs of the community than anyone else, and it is only natural that he should be better informed on the subject than any member of the congregation. The election of the rabbi as an honorary member of the board will do more than anything else to remove the veiled distrust of the rabbi that prevails to some extent in a number of congregational boards.

(e) RITUAL CHANGES.

Since the rabbi is the religious guide of the congregation, no action touching the ritual, the school, or any branch of congregational activity should be taken by a board without consulting him. Unless this confidence in the ability of the rabbi to advise wisely exists, no true good can result from his ministrations. The rabbi should not be looked upon simply as the paid servant of the congregation, who is to be commanded to do this or forbidden to do that. On the other hand, the rabbi should not be autocratic; he should make no important change in the ritual or take any step that involves an alteration in any channel of congregational activity without consulting and advising with the standing committee on ritual. In a word, mutual confidence should exist, and both parties should work hand in hand, having in mind solely the good of the cause, and not personal aggrandizement. The rabbi is the spiritual head of the congregation, and only when he is respected as such does the right spirit prevail. When he can no longer be respected as such, it is time for the relations to be severed.

(f) THE RABBI AND INCREASE OF MEMBERSHIP.

While it is the duty of the rabbi to further the material prosperity of his congregation and to do all he can to enlist the interest and co-operation of the unaffiliated, yet we cannot but regard it as unfortunate that the minister's usefulness is judged frequently from the standpoint of commercialism, which gauges his success and worth wholly by the increase in the membership roll.

Now, it were folly to disregard the financial side of congregational life and the necessity of effort to bring money into the treasury. But this is not the rabbi's chief concern. When he can bring new members into the fold without sacrificing the dignity of his position, let him do so. In truth, it is of the highest importance that he should bring into the congregation every one among the unaffiliated whom he can influence. But, after all, it is his work in the pulpit, the study and the community that tells. If this work is effective, the congregation will increase; the board of trustees will not find great difficulty in inducing people to affiliate themselves with the congregation under the charge of such a minister.

(g) THE RABBI IN THE PULPIT.

The rabbi stands and falls with his pulpit work. This is his chief concern. The congregation has the right to expect the very best that is in him. He may

not take this work lightly, nor step into his pulpit unless he is thoroughly prepared. On the other hand, the congregation should receive his utterances in a sympathetic spirit. Every rabbi ought to welcome honest criticism, but the fault-finding, carping attitude that obtains in so many instances on the part of laymen cannot be deprecated too strongly. Let our people come to the house of worship not as critics but as worshipers.

The congregation has the right to expect *Jewish* sermons from the pulpit. The pulpit is not a platform for the discussion of miscellaneous themes of an encyclopediac nature. Conversely, the pulpit is the rabbi's domain; it is sheer presumption for any officer or member of the congregation to dictate to him what to preach. It should also be his privilege to invite into his pulpit any one who he thinks has a right to stand there.

(h) PASTORAL WORK.

The Jewish conception of the rabbi is that he should be primarily a scholar, not a pastor. He should call on his people on occasions of joy and sorrow, in sickness and in trouble; but miscellaneous, undiscriminating social calling that passes under the name of pastoral work is a sham and a delusion as *pastoral work*. The gossip of the day forms the theme of conversation, and it is difficult to understand how the cause for which the rabbi stands is fathered in any way. If his ideal is to be scholarly and true to the best traditions of Judaism, he should not be expected to fritter his time away by constant attendance upon social functions, for in the long run this cannot but work to the detriment of the congregation, the cause he represents and himself. Naturally this does not mean to say that he shall not endeavor to know his people and to be on terms of pleasant social converse with the members of his congregation. It is absolutely necessary for him to know his people if he is to be able to minister successfully to their needs, but it is simply out of the question for him to give to this social work a leading place in his activity if he wishes to be something more than a society man in the pulpit.

(i) THE RABBI AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

The religious school is so important an adjunct of the congregation that the rabbi, in taking charge of it, must give it his best thought. The school is the foundation whereon the congregation rests. The rabbi should be the superintendent of the school, and nothing should be done in the school without his being consulted. The same relation should exist between him and the school board as was set forth above in speaking of the congregational board. His should be the duty of recommending the teachers for the school, and no teacher should be dismissed without his consent. He should arrange the curriculum of the school. He should organize, as far as he can, other classes for the study of Judaism, the Bible and Jewish history. The longer he can hold his young people by means of these various classes, the better. This is his legitimate work. He is primarily the Jewish teacher. If he devotes himself to his pulpit work and his religious classes as he ought, he will do the

cause which he represents all that good which may be rightfully and naturally expected from him.

(j) THE RABBI AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CONGREGATION IN THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE.

In our American life the rabbi is a citizen of his community as well as the spiritual head of his congregation. As the representative of the congregation, it should be his pleasure as well as his duty to represent his congregation in the various charitable, municipal and social activities that interest the community at large. His congregation expects this, for he must be not only in the world but of it.

Respectfully submitted.

DAVID PHILIPSON,
K. KOHLER,
MAX L. MARGOLIS,
G. DEUTSCH,
JOSEPH STOLZ,
Committee.

On motion of Rabbi Kohler the report of Rabbi Philipson was received and discussed.

RABBI KOHLER.—Mr. Chairman, the generous applause that followed the reading of the paper shows, that it expresses the views of us all, and yet, I wish to say, because I want this paper to be efficient, I would not be in any particular hurry in having it circulated. It seems to me, it is a great step forward, that the very presentation of the paper shows, that the rabbis of America begin to be conscious of their power and of their dignity. And it is time, indeed, that the rabbis of this country give expression to that feeling, that the dignity of the rabbinical office must, by all means, be upheld against attacks and innuendoes, that come from all quarters, from the pew, from the administration of congregations. The rabbinical position is at the present time not yet what it should be. But it is by far better than it was 20 or 25 years ago. And there is no doubt that the Rabbinical Conference has greatly and essentially contributed to the upholding of the dignity and the recognition of the power of the rabbi. Now, because this is so, I would like to see the paper presented by my friend and colleague, Dr. Philipson, go through a little scrutiny, before it is presented to the world, as

the expression of the rabbis of this country. The very fact, that it starts in *res medias* shows that it is not the kind of a paper we want to circulate to the world. The paper expresses certain needs and certain ideas, but it does not, as yet, express the principles, the high principles, we want to emphasize, and upon which such a relation should be established between rabbi and congregation. I, for one, for instance, would start with a preamble giving expression to the needs of such a recognition, perhaps with a retrospective view, and thus state what the object of such a paper is, because, Mr. President, I feel certain that the paper will be read by every trustee and every member of every congregation. They do not care what our opinion is about Delitzsch, or about the marriage-agenda, or anything else, but here where the authority of the Parnas is touched upon, and where the great infallibility of the congregation is questioned, I am sure everybody will feel called upon to form an opinion. And so, gentlemen, let us make the right start to-day, though we need not at once decide upon this question.

RABBI FRANKLIN.—I rise to say a word or two emphasizing perhaps from another standpoint what Dr. Kohler has said. I, too, believe that this is one of the most important documents that could possibly have been brought before this Conference, so far as its impressions upon the laymen are concerned. Unquestionably this paper, when printed, will be read with a great deal of interest and eagerness by the members of our various congregations. They are exceedingly anxious to know what attitude the rabbi assumes toward these important questions. And yet, I also agree that it might be a little unwise, to say the least, for us to rush into print a report on this question without giving it very careful consideration. And though I am in hearty sympathy with the spirit of the report as a whole, there is, at least, one of the recommendations of the committee, with which I personally stand utterly at variance. This refers to the recommendation of making the rabbi an honorary member of the Board, thereby extending to him the right to attend all the Board meetings. Personally I have never served a congregation where I was not welcome to attend every meeting of the Board, and yet, I have consistently refrained from availing myself

of the privilege, unless I had some special matter of congregational interest to bring before them. It does seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that there are two sides to this question. Surely there are matters to be discussed by the Board with which the minister had better not concern himself. Some of them even concern himself. I believe we ought to try to give our Trustees every opportunity for a free and fair discussion of the ministry. And I do know, that if the minister attends the Board meetings that some of them will be reticent about saying things which are in their hearts. Perhaps you think it is best so. You are mistaken. Let them have an opportunity of saying what they feel and think. Moreover, in a well-regulated congregation the affairs that take place in the Board meeting, it seems to me, are not of vital concern to the minister. The Board, as I understand it, is created for the purpose of supervising the fiscal and financial affairs of the congregation. Now, it does seem to me, that the less the minister has to do with the financial affairs of the congregation the better off is he, and the better off is his congregation. (Applause.) Personally, I don't want to know all the little quibbles and quarrels that take place among the members of my Board. Personally, I shall have more respect for many of my members if I do not happen to know that they are six months in arrears with their dues. And, therefore, I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this is one of the matters that ought to be given very careful attention before the report comes to print.

RABBI DAVID KLEIN.—It seems to me, that the report as presented by Rabbi Philipson shows a very careful and model analysis of existing conditions. It is necessary to define, and define well, the rights and privileges of the minister. Such rights and privileges are but rarely recognized in many a congregation. It seems to me that the suggestions of the report as to the rabbis participating in the conferences of the congregation are fully justified. While, it is true, that the report begins immediately with suggestions and enters at once into a discussion of these rights and privileges, the suggestion of Dr. Kohler is very wise. The report should open with a preamble, and for this reason, while all these suggestions contained in the report are timely and necessary, I would recom-

mend that Rabbi Philipson be requested to amend his report, as suggested by Dr. Kohler, and perhaps make other amendments, which should be added, and reported again to this Conference before it adjourns.

RABBI C. S. LEVI.—It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, the matters touched upon in this report are timely, and with the implication, which has been suggested by Dr. Kohler, will meet all the requirements of the rabbis, and also the needs of the congregations. I do not believe it wise to speak of salaries and make demands. I, however, propose the reconstruction of this paper, so that no mention of salary be made.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I feel the members are perfectly right in the contention that this report should have further consideration, and I am very sorry that the other members of the committee were not present that I might consult with them—Dr. Leucht being in Europe, and Dr. Samfield not being here.

I simply wish to answer a few of the remarks that have been made before the vote is taken. In the first place, I would not have submitted this report at this time, but had I not done so I would have felt that I had neglected a duty. I felt that a report was due, and for that reason the report was read this morning without having been submitted to the other members of the committee. Now, this is not a *paper* on the relation between the rabbi and the congregation, but only a report, and, therefore, I could not go into the long historical retrospect, such as Dr. Kohler suggests; still I am very much in accord with him that such a paper ought to be written. I did certainly start from the beginning—for I started with the election of the rabbi; this is the first point in the relation between the rabbi and the congregation. I fully agree, that a paper going out as authority from this Conference, should have a short preamble; this should be the opening paragraph of the report and with this I believe Dr. Kohler will be satisfied.

As to the point of an ethical code, I frankly concur with the doctor; but we were not asked to report upon the relation between rabbi and rabbi. It is unfortunate that there has to be an ethical code of that kind.

THE SECRETARY.—We have one.

THE CHAIR.—We adopted it in New York.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—Now, a word as to Rabbi Franklin's objection. I believe a minister ought to have the privilege of attending the meetings of the Board. I do not say he shall go there every time, but he ought to be an honorary member of the Board. I do not wish to attend every meeting of the Board, but there are meetings I do want to attend, meetings at which questions touching the religious welfare of the congregation are discussed. We cannot deny the fact that there is a feeling abroad that the Board stands as a sort of buffer between the rabbi and the congregation. It is not true of all congregations. There are some very fine congregations in this country and there are others that are not so fine. We must strive to overcome this sentiment; the Board and the rabbi should be in perfect harmony. Both have the best interests of the congregation at heart. As I have said, this is simply an individual report. I thank the Conference very much for their reception of the report, and I feel grateful that the day has come when the sentiments expressed meet with such unanimous approval from the members of the Conference, because I think the report does say something, which might have called forth some dissent. The practical unanimity with which this report has been received is, I think, a splendid sign. Now, might I suggest this: That this report, inasmuch as it is only an individual expression of opinion, not having been submitted to the other two members of the committee, be referred to a commission of five. I think this important subject is one that should be fully gone into. It is the first time this matter has been brought before any Rabbinical Conference and it is sufficient that it has been reported to-day; we need not be in a very great hurry to act immediately. Above all let us be deliberate in the matter, for it is very important. There may be other points to be included which some of you will think of, and in the multitude of counsel there is wisdom. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would move that this report be referred to a committee of five to be appointed by the Chair, at leisure, and that this committee shall bring in a report to the next Conference, or if you will at some meeting of this Conference, say Friday.

RABBI GEO. SOLOMON.—In order to bring this matter before the Conference, I would agree thoroughly in what Rabbi Philipson has said. It looks as though we were all in accord on this question. I would move a substitute for the motion before the house, to this effect: that the report as submitted by Dr. Philipson be referred to a committee of five, to report Friday morning, and that the report, as then adopted, be sent out in any manner this Conference may desire.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

The Chair appointed the following as members of that committee: Philipson, Kohler, Stoltz, Deutsch and Margolis.

The report of the commission on the Sabbath question was then presented by Rabbi Voorsanger, Chairman (*vide* Appendix).

RABBI VOORSANGER.—The commission unanimously reply to point number two, that Sunday services are not only commendable but must be considered as in strict accord with all Jewish precedent. Judaism regards both public worship and instruction on every day of the week as necessary to the religious discipline of our people.

RABBI SONNESCHEIN.—Not to leave the impression among our brethren, that this wording and phrasing is a mere caprice, I wish it to be clearly understood, that we do not intend to invalidate traditional distinctions or to touch irreverently the elemental sanctity of our Sabbath. To take such a notion were simply absurd.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I have watched the discussions and listened to the splendid paper of Dr. Kohler, the healthy suggestions of Dr. Philipson, and every other suggestion made on this floor. It has impressed itself deeply on me, that there is no single proposition which has been made, either as regards the doctrine of Israel or the ritual condition of the present time, in which the Conference is not ultimately compelled to place itself in the humiliating attitude of a body that can only engage in academical discussions and commit no final act, impressing itself on the people at large.

RABBI SONNESCHEIN.—I, for one, as a member of that committee, cannot be silent. I have to speak. It is to me a matter of conscience and nobody can stifle my conscience. I want to say that I for one, as a member of the committee, am under the most sacred impression, that the institution of a Sunday Sabbath will lead to a terrible schism.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—In reply to all questions, this has to be said: That some of the gentlemen on the floor of the house seem to be unable to understand that the Conference last year appointed a commission, not to present a report upon one point, but upon seven points. These seven points in reality do not present a unity of subjects. They widely depart from one another in many respects. The chairman of the commission, therefore, assigned to each member one point to answer, and these members of the commission, who presented their answers, presented them as their subjects impressed themselves upon them, each answering in accordance with the points he had under consideration. The commission, therefore, feels that each member has a right to present his own study of the question.

PROF. DEUTSCH.—I do not recollect this to be the case.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—May I say in reply, inasmuch as Prof. Deutsch has made this statement, that he ought to have stated to the Conference in addition, that the chairman of this commission wrote him as early as December 19, and received no answer for three months, that Dr. Deutsch did not attend to this work for the whole year, that finally he promised to write his answer to the point submitted to him; and when the chairman saw him last week, Dr. Deutsch said, he had no time to give the matter his attention. The Conference ought to know all these facts. This commission has no report. It brings a study of the points submitted. The word "report" is a misnomer. You have no right to expect a report from us. We have been working for a whole year in order to find some truth, and you have no right to cast into our teeth the assertion, that we have not been obedient to true parliamentary proceedings. We have studied the questions submitted to us, and we had

a right to submit to this conference the result of our study and our consultation. If you do not wish to listen, as Dr. Enelow says, you need not do it.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The commission convicts itself by what the chairman stated. This is no report, no adequate report.

A MEMBER.—If the chairman of the commission had stated this at the presentation of the report, all this misunderstanding would have been avoided.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I did make the statement.

RABBI KLEIN.—I move that Dr. Enelow be heard.

RABBI ENELOW.—I have only one word to say. This is not a report, it is simply a study on one point of that work which was assigned to the commission on the Sabbath question, and, for that reason, it has no practical bearing upon our attitude to the Sabbath at all. It is a scientific, honest and simple statement of the subject, as I have been able to present to our commission. It is an answer to the question into which this Conference should inquire, whether the institution of a Sunday Sabbath is or is not inconsistent with the historical and theological principles underlying Judaism; and whether or not such an institution would not be productive of schismatic action, by which its advocates would expose themselves to the possibility of creating a new sect in the midst of the Jewish people. (Rabbi Enelow then read part of the report, *vide* Appendix.)

RABBI KOHLER.—I have a motion to make, and that is, that we have one or two hours devoted to the discussion of the subject, because we cannot allow the report, as it has been now presented to us, to remain in this state. I wish to state that I am happy, that I did not at once follow the advice or the urging of my neighbor to rise when Dr. Voorsanger presented his paper, because he did not bring a clear and concise report. I am thankful to Dr. Voorsanger for having allowed Dr. Enelow to present us a paper which, to-

gether with his, is more valuable than all the reports that the commission could have brought had they devoted their entire time to it. It is this consideration of all ideas that lies at the bottom of what you call a report. Gentlemen, we show to the world by the two views presented to us, that we are not ready either to cut away from the past in a hurry, without regard to our obligations, nor are we ready to legislate for all times.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—The good doctor is discussing this point and the question before the house is whether we are to decide to discuss this now or at some future time in executive session.

RABBI KOHLER.—I do not want any executive session. I desire that all the world may hear us. It is a most vital question of Judaism; the most vital ever discussed, and we need not be ashamed of those papers. Both are full of suggestions and rank among the very best ever presented. They are worthy of discussion, and, therefore, I move that we have two hours devoted to this most vital question, and then have the commission report.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

The Conference adjourned till 2 p. m.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—As chairman of the commission appointed to pass on these points, I would respectfully recommend, that, before the discussion opens, this Conference pass upon two important points involved in the discussion. The first is, whether it is advisable that we go into executive session during this discussion.

RABBI GUTTMACHER.—I desire to offer a substitute: In view of the fact, that the report submitted is virtually not a report (not having been signed by a majority of the commission), I propose that the discussion of the whole subject be deferred until we have a report signed by a majority of the members of the commission, and that this commission be continued.

The motion was duly seconded.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—This motion is out of order. This Conference decided to devote two hours to the discussion of the subject. There is really no motion before the house because you are on the order of the day.

RABBI WILLNER.—I move a reconsideration of the motion. This discussion was set for this afternoon. I voted in the affirmative.

The motion was seconded.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I rise to a question of privilege. The Conference is under a misapprehension of the scope of Rabbi Gutmacher's motion. Rabbi Gutmacher moves that in view of this report not having been signed by a majority, the discussion is out of order. There are two clauses; on the first clause I have a decided word to say to the Conference—

THE CHAIR.—You are not discussing the question as to whether we shall reconsider or not.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—Yes, I am discussing it.

THE CHAIR.—The discussion is out of order.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—Pardon me, I stand upon my rights.

THE CHAIR.—You wanted to ask a question and you take the privilege of making a full statement. I will rule everything out of order except the putting of this motion.

A MEMBER.—The President is, in this case, absolutely wrong. The motion of Rabbi Voorsanger was seconded and that is the only motion before the house.

THE CHAIR.—You are mistaken. The motion of Rabbi Voorsanger is not before the house. The question before the house is Rabbi Willner's motion to reconsider.

The motion to reconsider was then put by the Chair and declared lost.

THE CHAIR.—Now the question is on Rabbi Guttmacher's motion. You have a chance to discuss this question whether you want to refer the subject back to the commission or not.

The motion was put to a vote and declared lost.

THE CHAIR.—The question before the house now is the motion of Rabbi Voorsanger, that we enter into executive session and a condensed discussion be given to the press.

RABBI KOHLER.—I am very sorry to force myself on the attention of the Conference, but one or two little things must be done before this discussion can proceed. You may as well allow the chairman an opportunity for suggesting that there is a way in which the discussion shall tend, so that we may not travel away from the subject as we unfortunately very often do. I have prepared the following for the Conference, and I beg to introduce it as a motion. That at the next Conference, the members then present be prepared to vote on the best methods of conveying the ideas presented to-day and involved in the Sabbath question. Second, that the decision of the Conference be laid before an authoritative organization to be created for its confirmation. And next, that the manner of the constitution of this authoritative body be discussed in connection with Dr. Margolis' paper, in which, I understand, a definite method of formation and organization will be presented; and also in connection with the suggestions that have been so ably presented by the President in his annual message. You must remember, on the third point, in so far as the subject of the Sunday is concerned, there are at present only two ideas or suggestions before the Conference, and the third will be presented tomorrow. Now, I have a great deal of faith in the clear-headedness of Prof. Margolis, and I recommend that the Conference first listen to his suggestions before engaging in a general discussion of this particular subject. It would therefore be wise to confine the discussion to-day, first, to the merits of the four points presented, viz.: the point of Rabbi Sonneschein; the point that I presented as to the definition of rabbinical; the point presented by Rabbi Nieto in reply to the question whether a substitute for the Sabbath is schismatic; and the question just read and an-

swered that Sunday services are not an attack upon the ritual. These are the four points that ought to be under discussion, and not the Sunday question. And with these four points before us, I believe we will have ample business this afternoon. I make that as a motion.

THE CHAIR.—We will abide by that.

RABBI KOHLER.—I would say before this discussion takes place, that I would like to have first the points clearly presented. What was said as an answer given by Rabbi Sonneschein was rather a kind of interpretation of certain Rabbinical sentiments than a clear, concise and positive answer to these questions. Although I listened attentively to Rabbi Sonneschein's remarks on the first and fourth questions, I cannot recall the words, so as to make them a subject of discussion; and similarly do I feel with regard to the definition of Rabbi Voorsanger.

THE CHAIR.—In answer to you, Dr. Kohler, I would say that the discussion on point three has been, by the suggestion of the commission, postponed till Friday.

RABBI JACOBSON.—The point passed this morning is that the Sabbath question shall be discussed this afternoon, and I ask whether the brethren have any right to limit that discussion. We have a right to discuss it as we please. Nobody has a right to limit the trend which the discussion shall take.

THE CHAIR.—The vote was only to postpone the discussion. The vote said nothing as to the method of discussion. The Chair, at the recommendation of the commission, fixes the method of the discussion, and, if the Conference does not decide otherwise, that will be the order.

RABBI AARON.—I am afraid this discussion will result in confusion. Now what has the Sabbath commission reported? I think I can safely say, nobody on this floor can give an answer so concise as to make it possible for a subject of discussion.

THE CHAIR.—Rabbi Voorsanger answers point one and point four, taking the conservative side.

DR. VOORSANGER.—No! No! I take no side.

THE CHAIR.—He took the conservative side while Rabbi Enelow took the radical side.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I hope this discussion as to the indefinite character of the commission's report will cease. There was a charge brought this morning, to which, in part, we may plead guilty, that the report is not strictly speaking a majority report. That arose from the fact that on this important commission there were four members who condescended to do nothing. But setting aside this one point, upon which we need not lay any stress at all, the commission thinks that it has, at the present time, answered five out of seven questions, and that these questions are before you for discussion. Upon questions one and four they accept the opinion of Rabbi Sonneschein, which becomes the opinion of the commission. Upon question two, we present the opinion, which is the opinion of the majority of the commission because Prof. Deutsch appended his consent to it. Upon question three, I alone reported, with the consent of the commission. And upon question five, you have heard the paper of Rabbi Enelow. Now these five questions, one, two, three, four and five, have been consecutively answered. Questions six and seven are merely of a practical character, which can be consigned to another commission. They require no discussion at all, because they bear upon certain questions of discipline, which can easily be solved. Therefore you have the gist of the commission's report before you, and there is nothing indefinite about it except Dr. Kohler's assertion, to which I agree, that the commission has not presented these five points in as pithy a manner as it ought to. But I admit that was impossible. The commission felt that it owed this Conference, not merely a statement, but it owed the Conference the study itself of the questions, involved in this important matter. It did just exactly what it is going to do now. The commission intends that this Conference should be a committee of the whole on this important question. Because no seven men, no four men,

have a right to present final opinions upon questions, that have not been settled for fifty years, and may not be settled for another generation to come. Therefore, the discussion is before the Conference, and the Conference has a right to become a part of this commission, practically working as a committee of the whole, for the purpose of discussing these five consecutive points in which the commission has presented its work.

PROF. MARGOLIS.—I think we can save time, as I see we are not prepared to discuss economic questions. We have now learned a great deal from the members of the commission, but we are not ready to speak upon it to-day. Therefore, I would suggest, that the Sabbath commission be asked to formulate the result of their conference, in as concise a manner as possible and to send out these suggestions to all members of the Conference and ask them to express their opinions in writing, to be incorporated in a final report at the next convention, when every member may be prepared and be able to vote on the question and settle it once for all.

RABBI AARON.—I believe it would be much better to recommit the whole question to this commission or to another commission.

RABBI KOHLER.—I agree with the last speaker.

THE CHAIR.—Will Dr. Margolis please state his motion?

DR. MARGOLIS.—The motion is, that the Sabbath commission be asked to reframe in as concise and as clear language as possible their five points, making it possible for us to discuss every point; that these points be sent out to members of the Conference, if it can be done to-day, in writing; that the members answer in writing; and that they then be prepared to discuss it and vote upon it next year.

Rabbi Philipson moved, that the matter be referred back to the commission to recast their suggestions into definite form, and that we make this the special order of business for Friday afternoon at one o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Committee on Haggadah then presented its report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON A PESACH HAGGADAH.

Your Committee on Publication of a Pesach Haggadah, under the auspices of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, begs leave to report:

First. That it has examined much of the existing literature on the subject, including various efforts that have been made to reconstruct the ancient Seder, and to conform it to the need of the present day.

Second. As a result of this examination, the Committee has concluded that it is due to this Conference that the Haggadah, to be issued by it, shall be a work especially prepared for it, and its own publication.

Third. The Committee recommends that the work to be issued shall embody the quaint charm and traditional sentiment of the original Haggadah, as far as this is consonant with the spirit of the present time. It furthermore recommends that the work shall offer as an appendix, historical material and additional literature of an interesting, instructive and inspiring nature.

Fourth. The Committee furthermore reports that it was fortunate in having had submitted to it a version of the Haggadah especially prepared by one of the members of our Conference, Rabbi Wm. Rosenau, Ph. D., of Baltimore, the musical portions of which have been especially arranged by another member of this Conference, the Rev. Alois Kaiser, Baltimore.

Fifth. The author of this MS. has consented to make such changes and additions as seem necessary, in order to conform to the suggestion of the Committee.

Sixth. The Committee therefore recommends that the Executive Committee be authorized to enter into satisfactory agreement with the author for the purchase of this work, as soon as the conditions above referred to have been complied with.

Respectfully submitted,

JOS. KRAUSKOPF.
HENRY BERKOWITZ.

On motion of Rabbi Jacobson the Conference proceeded to the consideration of the report, seriatim.

(Remarks were made by Rabbis Willner and Moses on Haggadoth which they themselves had prepared.)

RABBI CHAS. LEVI.—I move that this portion of the committee's report be referred back to the original committee with instructions to take into consideration such other Haggadoth as are ready for publication, and then present its final report.

RABBI I. S. MOSES.—I would like to make an amendment. A committee even of five will express the views of five members only. Let us take, for instance, the publication of the Union Prayer Book. . . . I am ready to send my Haggadah to anyone who will ask for it. My amendment is, that the committee insist that every member who wishes to have his Haggadah considered at all, send one to every member of the Conference, so that the Conference may decide after examining all.

The amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The original motion is before you, to refer this question of Haggadah back to the committee and to increase the committee to five members.

The motion was carried.

Rabbi L. Grossman then read a paper on "Pedagogical Methods in the Modern Jewish Religious School." (*Vide Appendix.*)

The Conference then adjourned till 9.30 a. m. next day.

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1903, 9.30 A. M.

Conference opened with prayer by Rabbi Zielonka.

(Report of Publication Committee was presented by Rabbi Stolz.)

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

DETROIT, MICH., June 30, 1903.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

The Publication Committee entrusted with the printing and handling of the publications of the Central Conference of American Rabbis exclusive of the Year Book and of the Hymnal, beg leave to report as follows for the fourteen months from April 25, 1902, to June 26, 1903:

By order of the last Conference we published a seventh edition of 9112 copies, viz.:

Volume I	5019 copies.
Volume II	3093 copies.
Sabbath Service	1000 copies.

And we had 8256 copies bound, viz.:

Volume I	2887 cloth.
	{ 1234 leather.
Volume II	3135 cloth.
Sabbath Service	1000 cloth.

The total cost of this edition amounted to \$2202.90, viz.:

Paper	\$654.68
Printing	350.00
Binding	1198.22

Since our meeting at New Orleans, the following thirteen congregations adopted the Prayer-book: Mattapan, Miss.; Pittsfield, Mass.; Allentown, Pa.; Beaumont, Tex.; Brunswick, Ga.; Las Vegas, N. M.; Oklahoma, O. T.; Pensacola, Fla.; San Diego, Cal.; Sioux City, Iowa; Tampa, Fla.; Atlantic City, N. J.; Ahavath Chessed V' Shaar Hashomayin, New York.

During this period, 6432 volumes were sold, 2064 volumes more than were sold during the period of ten month covered by the last report, viz.:

Volume I—Cloth	1700
Leather	492
Morocco	99
Extra Morocco	75
Unbound	714
	—
	3080
Volume II—Cloth	1408
Leather	391
Morocco	104
Extra Morocco	117
Unbound	314
	—
	2334
Sabbath Service	1018
	—
Total	6432

We also disposed of 232 copies of the Mourner's Service and 17 copies of the Sermon Book.

The total value of the sales amounted to \$5182.67, which was \$1761.09 more than was reported to the last Conference.

Accordingly, in nine years 57,412 copies of the Prayer-book have been purchased and the Ritual has been introduced into 175 congregations. This is no mean testimonial to the inner worth of our Prayer-book; and the extent to which it has become a *Union* Prayer-book is strikingly evidenced by the fact that it has now supplanted the Wise, Einhorn, Merzbacher, Jastrow and

Huebsch Prayer-books in the very congregations in which the eminent authors of these five most prominent rituals ministered.

The cash receipts amounted to \$4314.86, an increase over last year of \$930.59.

Our outstanding accounts amount to \$1596.40, an increase of \$817.22.

The inventory shows the following stock on hand:

Volume I.—Cloth	1404
Leather	758
Morocco	110
Extra Morocco.....	105
Unbound	184
Volume II.—Cloth	1535
Leather	196
Morocco	592
Extra Morocco.....	105
Unbound	1319
Sabbath Service	132
Mourner's Service	1000
Sermon Books, bound	99
Sermon Books, unbound	935
Total value, less 20% discount and 15% commission.....	\$5740.59

The Committee begs leave to recommend:

(1) The publication of an eighth edition of 5000 copies of Volume I and 2000 copies of the Sabbath Service, the same to be bound at the discretion of the Publication Committee.

(2) The publication, at a minimum price, of a handy edition of the Sabbath and Week-day Service, to be especially adapted for the use of the Field Secretary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in such smaller communities where no Jewish congregation yet exists.

(3) A free distribution of our Prayer-books in prisons and reformatory institution upon the requisition of the Jewish prison chaplains, approved by the Executive Committee.

(4) According to the established custom of the Conference, the appointment by the incoming Executive Committee of a Secretary to the Publication Committee, who shall serve for one year at a compensation of 15 per cent commission.

The following is a condensed statement of our financial status:

RECEIPTS.

April 25, 1902-June 26, 1903.....\$4314.86

DISBURSEMENTS.

To Treasurer, April 25, 1902-June 26, 1903.....\$4314.86

ASSETS.

Stock on hand.....	\$5740.59
Cash on hand.....	56.81
Accounts Receivable	1596.40
Plates	1150.00

\$8543.80

None.

In conclusion, the Committee desires to express its obligations to the Secretary, Rabbi Isaac H. Moses, for his faithful services, and also to append the report of Mr. Leon Brummer, a certified public accountant and auditor, appointed by the President of the Conference to examine the books of the Secretary and take inventory.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ.

T. SCHANFARBER.

NEW YORK, June 26, 1903.

Doctor Joseph Silverman, President, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Reverend Sir: I beg to report that I have examined the books of Dr. I. S. Moses, Secretary of your Publication Committee, and that the following is a true statement of affairs as disclosed by the books of account:

CASH RECEIPTS.

	REMITTED TO TREASURER.
May, June, July, 1902.....	\$357.85
August, "	130.10
September, "	537.04
October, "	714.47
November "	522.83
December "	376.00
Jan. & Feb., 1903 }	550.00
March & April, "	407.05
May, "	719.52
June, "	378.00
	550.00
	407.05
	544.32
	210.12
	<hr/>
	\$4,314.86
	<hr/>
	\$4,314.86

A statement of the amount of cash in the hands of Dr. Moses for current expenses, is as follows:

Cash on hand, April 29, 1902.....	\$161.18
Paid Politzer, Accountant.....	\$20.00
" Insurance	12.00
" Freight on 31 cases books.....	64.62
" Drayage on 31 cases books.....	7.75
	<hr/>
Balance in Secretary's hands.....	\$56.81

The accounts receivable, as shown upon the books, amount to \$1,596.40 (see schedule herewith).

The sales for the period, May 1, 1902 to June 27, 1903, amount to \$5,182.67 (see schedule herewith).

The inventory of publications at June 27, 1903, taken at selling price less 15 per cent, amount to \$5740.59 (see schedule herewith).

As per the foregoing, a statement of the resources of the committee is as follows:

Cash in hands of Secretary	\$56.81
Accounts Receivable	1,596.40
Publications, at selling price less 15 per cent.....	5,740.59
	<u>\$7,393.80</u>

In the foregoing, I have not included the value of the book plates.

Herewith is a schedule showing the movement of your stock of books for the fiscal period. I am informed that the differences are probably due to the fact that an actual count of the stock on hand, was not previously made. As to the quantity printed and bound during the year, I have inserted these figures only from verbal information.

Respectfully submitted,

LEON BRUMMER, C. P. A.,
University of the State of New York.

SALES (AND GRATIS).

Cloth	Vol. I	1630	@ 80 cents	\$1,304.00
"	"	70	.....	46.67
"	"	33	Gratis	
"	"	2	1408 @ 80 "	1,128.00
"	"	2	Gratis	
Leather	I	396	@ 1.20	475.20
"	"	96	.....	105.00
"	"	6	Gratis	
"	"	2	340 @ 1.20	408.00
"	"	51	@ 1.00	51.00
"	"	6	Gratis	
Morocco	I	99	@ 1.60	158.40
"	2	104	@ 1.60	166.40
Ex. Moroc	I	75	@ 2.00	150.00
"	"	1	Gratis	
"	"	2	117 @ 2.00	234.00
"	"	2	Gratis	
Unbound	I	714	@ 62½ cents	433.75
"	2	314	@ 62½ "	196.25
Mourners		197	@ 25 "	49.25
"		35	.....	8.50
Sab. Morn. and Eve.	968	@ 25 "	.....	242.00
"	"	50	Gratis	
Week Day		50	@ 25 "	12.50
Sermons		15	@ 85 "	12.75
"	Unb'd	2	.....	1.00
			<u>6762</u>	<u>\$5,182.67</u>

MONTHLY SALES.

1902	May	.....	.....	\$164.50
	June	.....	.....	475.20
	July	.....	.....	336.80
	August	.....	.....	1,184.60
	September	.....	.....	1,089.90
	October	.....	.....	362.75
	November	.....	.....	159.20
	December	.....	.....	185.70
1903	January	.....	.....	65.20
	February	.....	.....	126.80
	March	.....	.....	272.70
	April	.....	.....	147.92
	May	.....	.....	279.20
	June	.....	.....	332.20
				<u>\$5,182.67</u>

INVENTORY JUNE 26, 1903.

Cloth	Vol. 1	1404 @	80 cents	.....	\$1,123.20
"	" 2	1535 @	80 "	.....	1,228.00
"	" "	313 @	80 "	.....	250.40
Leather	" 1	758 @	\$1.20	.....	909.60
"	" 2	196 @	1.20	.....	235.20
Morocco	" 1	110 @	1.60	.....	176.00
"	" 2	592 @	1.60	.....	947.20
Ex. Morocco	2	105 @	2.00	.....	210.00
Bound Sermons	99	@	85 cents	.....	84.15
Ev'g and Morning	132	@	25 "	.....	33.00
Unbound Sermons	935	@	50 "	.....	467.50
" Pr. Bks. Vol. 2	1319	@	62½ "	.....	824.38
" " " " I	184	@	62½ "	.....	115.00
" Morning	1000	@	15 "	.....	150.00
					<u>\$6,753.63</u>
				Less 15%	1,013.04
					<u>\$5,740.59</u>

Of the forgoing inventory, I have made actual account of all the books, excepting one case, volume 2, cloth, said to contain 313 volumes,

Unbound, volume 2, said to be	.....	.....	1319
" " " I, " " "	.....	.....	184
" Ev'g and Morn'g, " "	.....	.....	1000
" Sermons, one case said to contain	.....	.....	624

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

71

STOCK ACCOUNT, MAY 1, 1902 TO JUNE 28, 1903.

NEW YORK, June 26, 1903.

Doctor Joseph Silverman, President, Central Conference of American Rabbis.
*Reverend Sir.—*In addition to my report of even date, I take the liberty of making sundry suggestions as follows:

As to the general conduct of the books, I beg to say that whereas all entries are truthfully recorded upon the books, certain changes could be made as to the method of recording same, which would be more systematic. These changes are not of a serious nature, and I shall be glad upon instructions from you to submit them to your Secretary, who I know, will accept them and carry them into effect.

I desire to call your attention to the following which in my opinion should be changed. Where a person orders a book upon which additional lettering is done or where charge is made for mailing and the like, these charges do not appear upon the ledger, although the bill which is sent will contain such items. This is due to the fact that Mr. Moses is now obliged to personally pay for such things, and therefore when these extra items are repaid, they belong to him and not to the Conference. It would be much more businesslike to have your books correspond with the bills sent out in your name, even though the Conference be obliged to temporarily pay such items as lettering, mailing, etc., for these items, when collected, would be returned to their treasury. It is a simple matter to exclude such additional items from the commission calculation.

I would also suggest that in lieu of having your Secretary make monthly remittance to your Treasurer, the Treasurer shall open a bank account convenient to your Secretary, and that the Secretary deposit into this bank the actual checks received by him for account of the Conference. Of course, this will entail a small expense upon the Conference, as the bank account will be charged with the small exchange charges against the checks. It would not be practicable to adopt this suggestion unless you also adopt the previous one.

If I do not presume too much, I would suggest the advisability of having your Treasurer resident of the same city as is your Secretary of the Publication Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

LEON BRUMMER, C. P. A.,
University of the State of New York.

On motion, duly seconded and approved, the Chair appointed the following Auditing Committee, to which was referred the report of Rabbi Stolz: Rabbis Gries, Freund and D. Klein.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The paper of Rabbi L. Grossman is now open for discussion.

Rabbi Simon then discussed Rabbi L. Grossman's paper (*vide* Appendix).

Prof. Margolis then read his paper on "Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism." (*Vide* Appendix.)

Rabbis Hecht and M. Friedlander discussed Prof. Margolis' paper. (For discussion, *vide* Appendix.)

Thursday evening was devoted to memorial services. (*Vide* Appendix for eulogies.)

FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1903, 9.30 A. M.

Conference opened with prayer by Rabbi D. Lefkowitz.

On motion of Rabbi Gries a committee of seven on nominations was appointed, consisting of Rosenau, Gries, Margolis, Schanfarber, Friedlander, Rypins and Guttman.

Rabbi Chas. S. Levi was added to the committee. In order to avoid having an odd number on the committee, President Silverman appointed himself as additional member of the committee, making committee nine in all.

The Secretary then read the telegram to the President of the United States anent the Kishineff affair:

FRIDAY, July 3, 1903.

President Theodore Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, L. I.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis in annual convention assembled, begs to express to you its unbounded admiration of the manly, courageous and truly American attitude you have adopted in regard to the forwarding of the petition of the Jewish citizens of the United States on behalf of their unfortunate co-religionists to his majesty, the Czar of Russia. The Conference, in which the spiritual leadership of American Israel is vested, feels extremely proud of American citizenship which makes it possible for the chief magistrate of our country to pursue a diplomatic course of action, which, while observant of the rules of comity due to friendly powers, is firm in its insistence on the high ideals of fairness and justice without regard to race, color, or creed. The Conference sends you its greetings, and invokes divine blessing upon your administration.

JOSEPH SILVERMAN,
President.

A. GUTTMACHER,
Secretary.

The following answer was received:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, July 9, 1903.

*Rev. Joseph Silverman, President, Central Conference of American Rabbis,
Detroit, Mich.*

Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt, by reference from the President, of the telegram which you addressed to him on the 3d instant, expressing approval, in the name of the Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, of the President's attitude on the Russian Jewish question.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I move, that after Prof. Margolis has closed the discussion, the Conference decide that the paper of Prof. Margolis be passed to print, and that, besides its incorporation in the Year Book, the Executive Committee be authorized to publish as many copies as it finds expedient, and the same be circulated among the clergy and the laity.

The above motion was seconded and carried.

The Conference then proceeded to the consideration of Rabbi Philipson's report, taking it up seriatim. Rabbi Chas. S. Levi objected to the use of the words "Rabbinical Tyros," saying that there was an implied reflection in the term, and suggested "The new aspirant for Rabbinical honors," which change was agreed to.

Second paragraph adopted unanimously.

Third paragraph adopted with two dissenting votes.

The paragraph relating to criticism was rejected.

On motion of Rabbi Willner, the whole report as amended was adopted unanimously.

On motion, duly seconded, the report of Rabbi Philipson was adopted and ordered printed in pamphlet form.

CONTINUATION OF SABBATH DISCUSSION.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—The commission confined its consideration to the five points submitted; it has segregated the two points which Dr. Sonneschein had in charge and is prepared now to report a

brief consideration of every one of them. Again, you will find the contents on pages 120-1 of the Year Book of 1902-03. No. 1 ("This Conference should authorize an official statement regarding its position in the matter of the Sabbath, etc.") is answered by point number one.

As to points number two, three and four, I will say that Dr. Sonneschein, who has carefully studied the question, has come to the conclusion that there are Talmudical precedents. The commission, on reconsideration of that question decided, upon his suggestion, that it was not adjustable to the conditions of the present day, nor to the present ethical conception. This report is signed by the majority of the members of the commission present. I have forgotten that Prof. Deutsch subscribed to four out of the five points. He takes exception to report on number five, on which he will make a minority report.

CHAIRMAN SILVERMAN.—If there is no objection the report will be received and taken up seriatim.

RABBI GRIES.—I simply wish to say, I think it proper to hear the majority report as well as the minority report before we proceed to action.

THE CHAIR.—Very well.

(Report read.) Prof. Deutsch reads minority report on paragraph five.

I take exception to paragraph 5 because the commission has not emphasized the great and unique value of historic sentiment which, in spite of all changes of late belief and practice, makes the Sabbath a holy day, as it gives to Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur a force which cannot be supplemented by any new institutions, no matter how logical it may be.

G. DEUTSCH.
K. KOHLER.

RABBI CHAS. S. LEVI.—Does the commission wish to apply the right of individualism? Does the commission believe that this Conference as a body must stand upon the historical sabbath ground, without any condition whatever, until the voice of authority has decided such change may be made?

RABBI PHILIPSON.—Do I understand by this the commission would down the attempts of individual congregations to make this transfer?

RABBI VOORSANGER.—No, this is a collective body. The Conference stands upon the traditional historical grounds, and this implies the tolerance of individuals.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—It seems to me, according to the second part of this report, that the Conference takes a stand upon the historical Sabbath and retains that stand until a synod shall declare for it or against it. It seems to me that this is the logical outcome of the recommendation.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—At the same time, this does not mean, that the Conference intends to bind any rabbi to changes, in the expression of his opinions or in carrying out his opinion by the practical transfer, provided his congregation supports him. The point involved in the whole subject is this. Every step we take in the matter of fixing the ritual discipline of American Judaism shows how helpless we are, what a variety of opinions exists, and the importance of coming to a final decision.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—Are we not confined to the historical development of Judaism?

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I don't know that as yet; we will see presently. At the present time this Conference is nothing but an academic body. It has not been able, except in instances where its practical work has commended itself to the community, to enforce the decisions which it has made. The fact is, that there is nothing more conspicuously before the people than the Sabbath question, and upon the Sabbath question we, ourselves, are so divided, that it is impossible to come to any unanimity of opinion. Therefore, this report emphasizes that, whilst there is such a diversity of opinion, and in the face of the fact that the Conference cannot express an authoritative voice on the subject, this Conference, as a whole, stands upon the ground of the historical Sabbath, resigning its opinion upon any question of individualism, with which it has noth-

ing to do; but votes that if a change is demanded, as it seems to be demanded, by the incongruity between the theoretical profession and radical violation, that this question must be relegated to that which is most needed by American Judaism. I refer to an authoritative voice, which shall be respected by all congregations. That is the gist and substance of number one.

RABBI S. HIRSCHBERG.—Upon hearing this first paragraph the question has occurred to me, and must inevitably, I imagine, have occurred to everyone, why has this whole matter been brought up? It seems to me, the expression, that we are not prepared as a collective body to pass judgment on this matter, negatives the consideration of the other paragraphs. This seems to me the final word, the sole word, that should come from this commission, that this Conference is totally unprepared, on account of the variety of opinion here, to pass any definite action in a collective way. The question is as open now as it was when first brought before us, and has as little probability of ever reaching any definite conclusion.

CHAIRMAN SILVERMAN.—I turn the Chair over to the Secretary and in return ask for the floor.

I am entirely dissatisfied with this report. I do not think the question answered. I think the commission places the Conference in a rather ambiguous position. The point it was expected to answer is this: This Conference should authorize an official statement regarding its position in the matter of the Sabbath. And it can be stated now decisively in a very few words. What the commission offers us is, to my mind, a begging of the question. Or, in other words, a circumlocution, by which to evade the issue clearly brought before us in this first point. (Applause.) I do not want to evade the issue. I want this Conference to state to American Israel exactly where it stands on the question of the Sabbath. Therefore, I offer as a substitute, for what the commission gives us, this proposition: This Conference declares itself in favor of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a fundamental institution of Judaism and of exerting every effort to improve its observance. It instructs the Executive Committee to appoint a commission to

study the methods of carrying this declaration into effect and to report to the Conference whenever in the opinion of the Executive Committee the special committee has made an adequate report.

RABBI ROSENAU.—I second the substitute.

RABBI KOHLER.—I have a substitute (*vide* above page).

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I beg the doctor's pardon. We agreed to present as a part of the report that motion, and it is my mistake that it is not read. This is Dr. Kohler's individual motion and constitutes no part of the report.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The proposition, which Dr. Kohler offers, is not in reference to point one but to point two, and I am willing to second it when we come to it.

RABBI ENELOW.—I think the first part of Dr. Kohler's remarks do bear on paragraph one. It involves the statement of what the word Sabbath means, i. e. regarded by us as the emblem of the Covenant between God and Israel. It is a very important statement from the standpoint of principle, and has direct bearing upon the very question under discussion at the present time. I therefore insist that it be considered in this connection.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—Gentlemen, we are in the presence of a great proposition. Our standing in this Conference before the world depends upon our answer, and a critical answer, to these first five propositions. I go so far as to say that our future depends upon our answer. I know for a fact, that there are some members of this Conference, who will resign from this Conference, if certain radical action is taken upon some one of these five propositions. We must be very careful that we do not create a schism in our own ranks, and that we do not give the public the impression that we are evading the issue, as I believe we evaded it a year ago. The American Jews demand that we answer clearly and decisively these questions which we have propounded to ourselves. I do not think it is advisable to go into a statement of the theological principles regarding

the Sabbath. We leave it to every man's judgment, whether he thinks the Sabbath a symbol or not. Some may believe it is a symbol between God and man. Some may believe the Sabbath is something else from a practical standpoint. Omit all statements of that kind. We are not called upon here to discuss the theological side of the Sabbath, but the practical side of it. The proposition I have brought before you takes into consideration only the practical side, and the world will know where we stand if we say that we declare ourselves in favor of maintaining the historical Sabbath, and exerting every effort towards the improvement of this observance, and that we appoint a committee to study the methods of carrying out this declaration, and to report whenever the committee has submitted to the executive committee an adequate report.

RABBI ROSENAU.—I desire to congratulate the Conference on the substitute motion, which Dr. Silverman has made this morning. I feel that the report of the committee is nothing short of an evasion of the question. But I differ from Dr. Silverman in this particular; that I do not believe as he does, that we should express ourselves on this important question, simply because American Jewry is waiting to hear from us our opinion. I believe in expressing the opinion here because of certain fundamental principles that give life to Israel, and have given life to its faith for centuries past. I desire to state my objection to Sunday service and my desire to see the historical Sabbath maintained. I object to the Sunday service because I consider the Sabbath a symbol and not simply an idea. I furthermore object to Sunday services. . . .

RABBI SCHANFARBER.—The question before the Conference is not the question of the Sunday service and I call the gentleman to order.

THE CHAIR.—The point of order is well taken.

RABBI ROSENAU.—Then I will say, I am in favor of maintaining the seventh-day Sabbath because I believe it to be the symbol of Judaism, because I do not believe it to be the right of every separate

community to legislate for itself; because I believe in maintaining the unity of Israel; because I believe in maintaining our historical identity; because I realize that Judaism is not simply ethical monotheism, but that it is monotheism plus a great quantity of ceremonialism; because I am afraid of the results consequent upon the institution of a Sunday service as a substitute for the Sabbath; because I believe that Israel should stand for something more than empiricism; because I realize that Sunday services as such are nothing less than a make-shift. From the devotional point of view Sunday service is a worthy institution but we need something else than Sunday service. And the final reason for maintaining the historical Sabbath is because I believe there is such a thing as development out of Judaism as well as development in Judaism. These arguments will answer all the various points which have been brought up by the Sabbath Commission.

RABBI KOHLER.—I wish to say that I fully agree with the last speaker, when he says that it is not sufficient simply to declare that we stand by the historical Sabbath. We owe to the world an explanation of our position. I will not insist on the paragraph I formulated. What I am anxious to see is the unanimous declaration of this conference that we declare that the historical Sabbath is the Sabbath of the Jew. If only Dr. Rosenau will permit me one word: Symbols may change, and the institution last, and I do think, if we emphasize the idea that the Sabbath is an historical institution, we emphasize the necessity of its maintenance far better than if we simply say it is the emblem or the symbol.

RABBI ENELOW.—May I ask a question before I talk on this topic. I should like to know what is being discussed at this present moment.

THE CHAIR.—The substitute for the commission's report.

RABBI ENELOW.—If the substitute is being discussed I wish to say the following as a member of the Sabbath commission: That I, for one, will never go before this country charging myself as a Rabbi, and as a minister of a Jewish congregation, with the great

guilt of being unable to formulate the opinions of the Jews and Jewesses of this country on so important a question as the Sabbath problem. We, as students of Judaism, have at last the decisive word to say on so vital a problem. We cannot at the present moment follow our conscience because we are afraid that several members of the Conference may send in their resignations, or, because a few Jews and Jewesses, who honestly and firmly differ with us, might censure us for our honest expression of opinion. The report of the commission upon this point is based on principle. It is based on conscience. It is based on a thorough understanding of what the times demand of us. Let us honor principle; let us honor conviction. I think that the report of the commission pays due regard to this higher aspect of the problem.

RABBI GRIES.—I would like to ask in the consideration of the Chairman's substitute, what position he takes with regard to the report of the commission on paragraph 5? I think the two are directly related.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I disagree entirely with the pronunciamento of the commission on paragraph 5. I say this Conference declares that the institution of a Sunday Sabbath is contravening to the institutions of Judaism, and hence schismatic.

RABBI GRIES.—The question I desire to have answered is not the Chairman's position with regard to paragraph 5, but what the meaning of his substitute motion is with regard to paragraph 5.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—That is what I mean. I have written out a substitute for the commission's report. (Reading substitute.)

RABBI PHILIPSON.—The one great fact, which will mark out this Conference from former Conferences is this: that this Conference will be characterized for all time by the fact, that we are coming down to a scientific study of the institutions of Judaism. The papers of this week have shown this. Dr. Enelow's paper, Prof. Margolis' paper and Dr. Kohler's paper have certainly raised the tone of this Conference wonderfully. I do not wish to speak of former Con-

ferences detrimentally at all, but I believe this Detroit Conference will remain in the memory of all of us, because of the high plane upon which the papers and discussions have stood. It does seem to me a little surprising, in reference to this most important of all questions, that we are to be satisfied with the statement of the practical side of the matter. I firmly believe, with the chairman of the committee, that it is not our business simply to go forth upon an *ipse dixit*. We are no longer living in the ages when the people will be satisfied with such an attitude. The people, who believe in the right of a Sunday service, have as much right to be heard as those who believe in the right of the historical Sabbath; and I do not see why this Conference shall dare guide anybody, who believes in the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday, and that he, who wants to speak, shall not have the right to be heard here on this floor. I believe this answer of the commission to the first point does not evade the question. We are just now in the transitory stage of this matter. I am as firmly a believer as any one in the inviolability of the historical Sabbath. But I am also a believer in the right of individual opinion. That has been the difficulty with Judaism. One man even dares to doubt the doctrine of the Messiah, as being a necessary doctrine of Judaism, and I do not see why we of to-day should grant less freedom of thought than our fathers did. You cannot chain down Judaism in this way. The moment you do, you have a sectarian church, or whatever you call it; but you will not have that free development of thought which has always been the glory of our faith. This commission emphasizes two great facts; the first of which is, the right of individual opinion. We all believe in that. It makes a statement of the condition of affairs of to-day. Can you for one moment deny the fact, that there is this condition of affairs to-day. There are those who believe in the historicity of the Sabbath, and there are those who believe, on account of the stress of practical affairs, it is necessary to transfer it to the Sunday. Can you deny that fact for one moment?

RABBI SILVERMAN.—You only need to repeat the statement to this Conference to let the members judge for themselves whether it is evasive, and not insert what is not in the paper.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—That is my privilege. This Conference is composed of rabbis and ministers of all shades. Are there not twenty different opinions here. Now, that is the preamble. This commission stated as clearly as Dr. Rosenau did, or as Dr. Kohler stated, that we stand upon the platform of the historical Sabbath, yet the commission declared without any hesitancy whatever, that its attitude towards the Sabbath must remain unaltered.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—But what is this attitude?

RABBI PHILIPSON.—That the historical Sabbath must remain. How this is an evasion I cannot tell. It simply says, that this Conference has no right to legislate upon this point, because in Judaism the voice of laymen as well as rabbis has always been heard. I am fully in accord with the commission—until a voice stronger shall declare otherwise.

RABBI GUTTMAN.—Dr. Rosenau gave several reasons why the Sabbath should be maintained: It seems to me that we hear a great deal about the historical Sabbath. Why do we not use the term Sabbath of the Decalogue? I have not heard that expression used here, and I think it is a great mistake and a great omission. The resolution presented by the commission leaves the door open, and says that until a greater authority is found to settle that question it shall remain as it is. I believe with Dr. Silverman, that we stand upon the Sabbath of the Decalogue. While we can change minor things, non-essentials, we have no right to change that one paragraph, which forms one of the fundamentals of the civilized world. The student of Judaism knows that the Pentateuch as well as the Prophets, that the Talmud as well as the whole Talmudical literature, that philosophers of the middle ages as well as the great modern reformers have all designated the Decalogue the cap stone of Judaism.

RABBI KOHLER.—That I doubt.

RABBI GUTTMAN.—I could prove it to you if I had time. It is the fountain head, whence all laws flow. Isaac M. Wise, I remember distinctly, in his article on the law, said: We must not allow

even the least infringement upon these ten principles. If we do, we lay ourselves open to a great danger of destroying the unity and the perfection of Judaism. Therefore, I think we ought to lay stress upon this: that this is one of the ten great principles, and part of the Decalogue, and that this cannot and must not be changed.

PROF. MARGOLIS.—I regret to say with all due regard for Dr. Silverman, that I shall be obliged to vote in the negative with reference to his substitute. I speak here as a layman and from the layman's point of view.

RABBI LEO MANNHEIMER.—The question before the house is the substitution of Dr. Silverman for point No. 1, of the report. The difference between the substitute and the original suggestion of this commission is a difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee; it is simply a difference of phraseology. The phraseology of the original report happens to be a little unclear on one matter. That is, it states that the attitude of the Conference was to remain unaltered regarding the Sabbath. That attitude ought to have been stated clearly. Dr. Silverman's motion is simply, therefore, a correction of the phraseology of the original suggestion of the commission, in that it states positively what the commission wishes to make the Conference report. That is, this Conference declares itself unequivocably in favor of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a fundamental institution of Judaism. And so to facilitate matters I simply suggest we change the phraseology of the original suggestion of the commission and adopt this substitute. I move you, therefore, to that effect.

Motion seconded.

RABBI CHAS. LEVI.—I had my congregation go on record during the past year. Out of 85 members 82 were in favor of retaining the historical Sabbath. Three were in favor of supplementary Sunday services, and 85 were against the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.

The question is, are we now formulating or reformulating the principles of our faith? Reformulation does not necessarily mean a re-

statement, which is contrary to the fundamentals in religion, but it emphasizes such phases of our religious life and existence, which have been admitted to some extent. From three different sources has come the proposition that we create a synod, an authoritative body of Judaism in America. From another source has come the proposition that we go a step further; that we formulate the creed of Reformed Judaism. Then noticing this conservative tendency to draw ourselves together and place ourselves on a positive platform, we are surprised to see a report presented, which sets us all at sixes and sevens, and creates in the mind of one the impression, that we are going to fly off at a tangent, and in another, that we are going to strike the very heart of our own possession.

RABBI WILLNER.—We are not here to feel the pulse of the people. It has always been the duty of the rabbi to decide between right and wrong. We are asked: what shall we do about the Sabbath, and we must give a definite answer, unless we can give a definite answer, for heaven's sake let us take our grip and go home. Let us not sacrifice that time-honored institution which is as old, nay, perhaps older, according to the biblical records, than the Decalogue. The clause as given in the substitute is a clear, and a firm statement, so clear that he who runs may read.

RABBI I. KLEIN.—It seems to me the original report of the commission on the Sabbath is evasive for one reason: In saying that we stand by the historical Sabbath.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—It does not say historical.

RABBI I. KLEIN.—Suppose it does not. Dr. Enelow tells us the meaning of the Sabbath has been changed from time to time to satisfy conditions. If that be so, may we not infuse into the Sunday that very same meaning that the Sabbath has possessed in the past?

RABBI VOORSANGER.—It may be in time.

RABBI I. KLEIN.—The question is, what is our stand to-day. This commission ought come out and say, we are in favor of making

Sunday the Sabbath and not say, it may become the Sabbath in the course of time. If you are standing by the historical Sabbath, what does that mean? Come out and say what it means and do not beat around the bush. You are evasive.

RABBI F. COHN.—If the original recommendation and the substitute are alike and both virtually the same, or if the substitute is so much clearer and more definite, let us take it. It does not make any difference whether we take tweedle-dee or tweedle-dum. The Sabbath is not dead and the Sabbath is not dying. When it comes to balancing science with the instincts of the people, I would swing on the side of the people. Of course we want to know what science can do, but we trust the instincts of the people and the people want the Saturday-Sabbath. Dr. Enelow has suggested that one side is honest; let us not say one side is honest and the other is not. We are both honest. Some one said, the Sunday advocates cannot be heard. They will be heard. Let us vote on the substitute.

RABBI I. MOSES.—The opinions seem now to be clarifying themselves. I am glad to join in the opinions which have been last expressed by Rabbis Levi and Cohn, I wish to say a word in all calmness. We ought not to insist so very much on the logic of the present. We are, I hope, men. Whom do we represent? We represent our congregations. Without our congregations we could do nothing. We would be scholars in our garrets, and the existence of our congregations depends upon the consensus of their best members.

RABBI KOHLER.—I would move that Dr. Silverman's motion, amended as it has been by his adoption of the concession regarding it as a fundamental institution of Judaism, should be embodied in the first paragraph of the commission's report.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I will accept that.

RABBI GRIES.—I object on the ground that the chair has granted me the floor, and I waive the privilege to Dr. Kohler only as a question of privilege and not to make a motion.

THE CHAIR.—The objection is well taken.

RABBI GRIES.—The substitute motion is not the same as the original statement of the committee. I believe the substitute, as interpreted by the chair and by members of the Conference, is clear. Because the substitute is clear, I am against it—not because of its clearness, but because of its contents * * * You have declared that we have no legislative authority. The President, himself, in his annual message, presents a plan for a synod as a necessary legislative body—other representatives have urged a synod. The report of the committee emphasized the necessity for some legislative authority. After all have declared "we have no legislative authority," you propose at once to legislate upon a vital question and to make this declaration to the world.

(Half of an hour recess was taken.)

On motion of Rabbi Stolz the Conference then proceeded to the consideration of reports.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The Auditing Committee finds the accounts of the Publication Committee correct and concurs with recommendations:

I. To publish an eighth edition of 5000 copies of Volume I and 2000 copies of the Sabbath Service, the binding to be left to the discretion of the Publication Committee.

II. We also recommend that a handy edition of the Sabbath and Week-day Service, for the use of the Field Secretary of the U. A. H. C. in small congregations, shall be published, also that these books shall be distributed freely in prisons and institutions upon the request of respective Jewish chaplains.

We also recommend the appointment of a Secretary to the Publication Committee, said Secretary to receive a compensation of 15 per cent commission.

Respectfully submitted,

M. GRIES,
C. J. FREUND,
DAVID KLEIN,
Auditing Committee.

RABBI KOHLER.—I do not think it is necessary to tell our members here of the great merit of Prof. Lazarus' writings and of his work

on behalf of Judaism, and especially on behalf of American Judaism. Professor Lazarus was essentially a German scholar. When I first saw him I was impressed by the way he spoke. There was nothing that betrayed any of the characteristic features of the clannish or exclusive Jew. He was broad-minded. He spoke the most classical German. He was the creator of a system of philosophy, which is indeed the best exponent of historical forces. His essay on history, for instance, is sound philosophy, that may rank, side by side, with Frederick Schiller's essay on history. Prof. Lazarus was an original German thinker, and contributed essentially to German thought. Who saw him, or heard him, could not but be impressed with that deep religious fervor and conviction of Prof. Lazarus as a Jew! He was the prophet for American Judaism. He says: Judaism of the future lies in America. And only here, where the Jew is free and where his untrammeled powers may have full play, he will be up to the standard. Here may be realized Judaism's high ideal.

RABBI GUTTMACHER.—I desire to express the thanks of all present to Dr. Kohler for the brief sketch he has given us of the life and the activity of Prof. Lazarus, one of the greatest and noblest men of our time.

The following resolutions were then read and adopted:

Resolved, That the Conference extends to our fellow-member, Dr. S. Wolfenstein, greetings and congratulations upon the completion of his twenty-five years of faithful, intelligent and loving work in his chosen field of educating and rearing the orphans entrusted to his keeping in the Jewish Orphan Asylum of Cleveland.

JOSEPH STOLZ.

GEORGE SOLOMON.

EDWARD N. CALISCH.

Resolved, That a committee of three be delegated from this body to act conjointly with the Committee on Circuit Preaching of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

DAVID KLEIN.

E. N. CALISCH.

SAMUEL HIRSCHBERG.

The following resolution was then presented:

In view of the admirable work which Mr. A. B. Ehrlich has done for the textual criticism and for the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible; in further view

of the deep sympathy of this Convention with Mr. Ehrlich's work, which expressed itself in hearty applause when Mr. Ehrlich gave the brilliant specimens of his exegesis; be it

Resolved, That the incoming Executive Committee be empowered to appropriate a sum of money in order to aid Mr. Ehrlich in the publication of the fourth volume of his work.

G. DEUTSCH.

JACOB VOORSANGER.

ISAAC S. MOSES.

EDWARD N. CALISCH.

H. G. ENelow.

RABBI STOLZ.—I wish to oppose any aid that may be given to Mr. Ehrlich. I think it should be one of the tenets of our Conference to assist in the production of literary work which appeal to a very small part of the public favor; I think it is a bad precedent for our Conference to appropriate money for a book, not yet published. I think it would be more advisable to subscribe for a certain number of volumes and to distribute those books in all the theological seminaries of our country, Christian as well as Jewish than to subscribe the money outright. I move to amend that our Conference appropriate a sufficient sum of money to purchase twenty-five copies of the book to be distributed in the theological seminaries of this country.

The motion was amended that fifty copies of Mr. Ehrlich's book be subscribed for by this Conference, to be distributed among the various educational institutions in the discretion of the executive committee. Motion was adopted.

The following resolution was then offered by Dr. Kohler:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee appoint a commission of seven to present to the next Conference an expert opinion on the proposition of the President of the Conference, Dr. Voorsanger, and Prof. Margolis to organize an authoritative body for Reform Judaism.

K. KOHLER.

DAVID PHILIPSON.

J. STOLZ.

ISAAC S. MOSES.

WILLIAM ROSENAU.

The Secretary takes the chair.

The report of the Auditing Committee was then read, and on motion was accepted, after a full discussion by Levi, Philipson, Nieto, Hecht, Margolis and Voorsanger.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON TREASURER'S REPORT.

DETROIT, MICH., July 1, 1903.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Brethren: The Committee whose names are hereunto subscribed and to whom was assigned the task of auditing the report of our Treasurer, beg leave to report that they have carefully examined the report, together with the vouchers, check books, etc., of the Treasurer, submitted to them, and found them in good order and correct in their totals.

We recognize with pleasure the steady and gratifying growth of our finances, not so much for its own sake as for the sake of the opportunity it affords to enlarge the scope of our work. But for this reason we deem it of the uttermost importance to regard these funds as sacred trusts, and to safeguard them, as much as lies in our power, against losses, and therefore we question the wisdom of the manner of investing our funds. We surely have no doubt in the statement of our Treasurer, admit that the securities at this time may be gilt-edged, but sad experiences daily made by one or the other suggest the wisdom of him who, in "The Merchant of Venice," has sounded the voice of warning in connection with investments, and respectfully but urgently recommend that the funds of the Conference be invested in first-class mortgages on real estate, duly examined and approved of by the Executive Committee or their accredited agent.

We regret to note that a large percentage of our membership is found to be in arrears with their dues for two years and more. Experience teaches that the longer these arrears remain, the greater the difficulty to collect them, and we therefore recommend that the Executive Committee act in accordance with the requirements of our by-laws.

Respectfully submitted,

S. HECHT, Chairman.

MARTIN ZIELONKA.

Jos S. KORNFELD.

Moved and carried that Treasurer invest funds of Conference under the authority of the executive committee.

The Secretary read report of committee on President's message, which was considered seriatim.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Gentlemen: Your Committee to whom the President's message was referred, begs leave to present the following as its report:

In view of the historical references contained in the message, this Committee recommends that the incoming Executive Board arrange for the preparation of a history of the Conference, to be published by them.

The Committee approves the recommendation of the President in reference to the President-elect of the Hebrew Union College, viz., that an engrossed letter of congratulation containing our assurances of unqualified support be forwarded to Dr. Kohler, and also that a letter of congratulation be sent to the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College.

In accordance with the suggestion of the President, we recommend the following minute for adoption by the Conference, viz.:

- (a) A letter to the President of the United States,
- (b) A letter to the President of the B'nai B'rith,
- (c) A letter to the press and the public,

thanking them for their attitude in the Kishineff affair.

This Committee approves the suggestion of the President as to the necessity of the formation of a national organization of Jewish forces, and recommend that the incoming Board appoint a committee for the consideration of the details and the formation of a plan to be presented by them at the next Conference.

This Committee heartily endorses the recommendation of the President looking to the establishment of a central authoritative body, referred to in the President's message as synod, and suggests that the whole matter be referred to a committee of seven, to be elected by this Conference. It shall be the duty of this committee to study the plan set forth in the message of the President and those of Drs. Margolis and Voorsanger, and such other plans as may be presented to it, and report at the next Conference.

We heartily recommend the adoption of the President's suggestion in reference to membership cards, and that action on this matter be taken by the incoming Board.

JACOB VOORSANGER.	I. AARON
RUDOLPH GROSSMAN.	JACOB NIETO.
MAX MARGOLIS.	A. GUTTMACHER.

The first paragraph was adopted unanimously.

During a short recess a vote of confidence as President of the Hebrew Union College was voted to Dr. Kohler.

On reopening of session second paragraph of Committee on President's Message was read and unanimously adopted.

The third paragraph was then read.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—This suggestion of the president is simply a repetition of what was done at the meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. A resolution was adopted there for the formation of the American Jewish Congress which should be the

very thing which the president mentions in his message. I do not think the president intended to overlook what was done. I spoke to him about it and he told me the Conference had received no official notice. I know that is an oversight. It was mentioned particularly in the resolution adopted by the executive board of the Union. However, I think, you will pardon me if I take a little time, because it is germane to the subject. At the meeting of the executive board of the Council at St. Louis this matter was thoroughly gone over. Dr. Stoltz and myself, who were the movers of the matter in St. Louis, were requested to present a statement. This statement was presented and quite a definite plan was sent with that statement. The Executive Board sent out this statement to all the national organizations in the country and it was either mis-sent or in some way overlooked. The experience has been one that should guide us. Very few responded, some acknowledged receipt. The idea was to have a preliminary meeting here in Detroit, Sunday, July 5, in order to talk over the matter to see whether it was feasible. Only six sent word they were willing to send delegates. Quite a number did not respond at all. Two or three of them refused. Now that is the experience of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. I myself have come to the conclusion, this is not the way to approach the subject. I was firmly convinced that this is absolutely necessary in the present condition of Jewish life in this country and in the world. But it seems, we will not be able to accomplish much through these national organizations. Sometimes even national organizations are not really representative. I do not think I betray confidence when I say that what we need is not so much a body like this, which shall have these large public meetings, but we ought to have a Board of the most representative men in the United States that shall be called "United Israel," or something of that kind; and in this way this question can be settled. Now if you will permit me, I will read a letter which I have just received. It is not at all private, and I am a little surprised that a document has not been received by the Conference which is mentioned in this letter. It is a letter from Mr. Wolf, of Washington.

(Reads letter.)

Now that is the way this matter stands. And I think the action on this matter should be on entirely different lines than proposed.

The recommendation of the committee on third paragraph was then accepted. The next paragraph was read and accepted.

The report was then adopted as a whole.

RABBI GRIES.—I would like to move at this juncture, that in the future the President's Message be presented to the Conference in pamphlet form, prior to its meeting.

The motion carried.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I believe the President's Message is intended not for the public but for the Rabbis of the Conference. I do not think that the message ought to be read at the opening meeting, which is public, because very frequently there are things in it not concerning the public. I think the Conference sermon ought to be on the opening night, and I move that hereafter the opening meeting consist of religious services and the president's message be the first order of business for the next day.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I would like to make an amendment. I called the attention of the executive committee in New Orleans to the following, viz.: This Conference is placed oftentimes in the position of a semi-secular body. As, for instance, without any direct reference to anything that has been going on here, I have never yet heard that a Jewish clergyman was invited to address an ecclesiastical body of Christians at the opening of the Conference. Neither is it necessary that an ecclesiastical body of proportions like this should receive the courtesy of the entire community. I believe with Dr. Philipson that the opening service of the Conference should be of a sacred nature and every secular feature should be omitted. I therefore amend the motion of Dr. Philipson by adding the words, that every secular feature be omitted at the opening of the conference.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I adopt that amendment.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

The following resolutions were then adopted:

Your Committee on Thanks begs leave to submit the following:

The fourteenth Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, before closing its session in the city in which, fourteen years ago, our organization had its inception, desires to give expression to its deep sense of gratitude to all those who have helped to make its visit to this city a second time so thoroughly enjoyable.

To the Jewish community of Detroit we offer our sincere thanks for their generous, whole-souled hospitality, which will linger as a pleasant memory with us.

With special appreciation we mention the General Committee, the Jewish Women's Club, the Young People's Society of Temple Beth-El, the Woman's Auxiliary, the Fellowship Club, the Phoenix Club, who have extended many kindnesses both to the members of the Conference and their wives.

We feel that primarily we owe the manifestation of the splendid hospitality which has everywhere met us, to our esteemed colleague, Rabbi Leo M. Franklin. We discern the wisdom of his guiding hand in all the admirable arrangements for our pleasure and the conduct of our business. To him, therefore, are due our greatest thanks.

To the Mayor of the city of Detroit, Hon. Wm. C. Maybury, to Rev. Lee S. McCollister, for their kindly welcome and expression of good-fellowship, we give our grateful acknowledgments.

To that portion of the press of Detroit which has reported our proceedings with a proper appreciation of the matters of real importance to the Jewish world and the public at large, we extend our heartiest recognition.

Finally, we thankfully acknowledge our indebtedness to the honorable President and officers of Temple Beth-El, for having provided for us quarters, adequate and beautiful, and at the same time affording us a glimpse of the beauty and grandeur which will, in the new Temple Beth-El, so much adorn the city of Detroit.

We recommend that this expression of our thanks be conveyed in the customary form to the individuals and organizations herein named.

Respectfully submitted,

SAM. HIRSCHBERG. J. MIELZINER.
E. MANNHEIMER. MAX C. CARRICK,
J. KORNFELD. Chairman.

In thanking Professor Margolis for his splendid historical and theological paper, this Conference desires to express its conviction that the author has proved such thoroughly intimate knowledge and such deep insight in the theological aspects of Judaism, that he has proved his title as an eminent

teacher of our faith, and as such should be permanently identified with Jewish institutions of learning that are specially organized for the training of rabbis.

I. AARON.	JOSEPH SILVERMAN.
CHARLES S. LEVY.	ISAAC S. MOSES.
WILLIAM ROSENAU.	A. GUTTMACHER.
H. G. ENELow.	LEO MANNHEIMER.
MOSES J. GRIES.	JOSEPH STOLZ.
K. KOHLER.	G. DEUTSCH.
DAVID PHILIPSON.	LOUIS GROSSMAN.
EDWARD N. CALISCR.	

DR. VOORSANGER.—I rise at this time for the purpose of calling the attention of the Conference to the necessity of selecting a place of meeting for the next year. The California delegates here present have traveled 2700 miles for the purpose of communicating with their brethren. In view of that fact alone I believe we may come before you with some degree of freedom and ask you to meet next year in the beautiful city of San Francisco.

Rabbi Nieto heartily seconded Rabbi Voorsanger's invitation.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I move that the invitation of California be accepted.

RABBI GRIES.—I second the motion.

The motion was adopted.

RABBI ROSENAU.—I desire to move that in appreciation of the very valuable and faithful services rendered us by the President, who has served this Conference for the past three years, we tender him by a rising vote our appreciation of his work.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I appreciate the expression of your good will, gentlemen, very much. I thank you.

Report of the Committee on Election of Officers for the ensuing year was presented.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Gentlemen: Your Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year begs leave to report the following names as officers:

Honorary President.—Kaufman Kohler, Cincinnati.

President.—Joseph Krauskopf, Philadelphia.

First Vice-President.—Joseph Stoltz, Chicago.

Second Vice-President.—Jacob Voorsanger, San Francisco.

Treasurer.—Charles S. Levi, Peoria, Ill.

Corresponding Secretary.—William Rosenau, Baltimore.

Recording Secretary.—Adolf Guttmacher, Baltimore.

Executive Board.—Gotthard Deutsch, Cincinnati; Hyman G. Enelow, Louisville, Ky.; Leo M. Franklin, Detroit; Louis Grossman, Cincinnati; Max L. Margolis, Berkeley, Cal.; David Philipson, Cincinnati; Tobias Schanfarber, Chicago; Joseph Silverman, New York.

On Publications.—Joseph Stoltz, T. Schanfarber, A. R. Levy.

Trustees of the Ministers' Fund.—I. Aaron, A. Guttman, E. N. Calisch.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM ROSENAU.	T. SCHANFARBER.
A. GUTTMAN.	MARCUS FRIEDLANDER.
I. L. RYFINS.	CHARLES S. LEVI.
MOSES J. GRIES.	JOSEPH SILVERMAN.
MAX L. MARGOLIS.	

All the officers unanimously elected.

The following report was unanimously adopted:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION HYMNAL.

To the Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Your Committee beg to state that they have examined the report and the accounts of the Committee on Union Hymnal. They find the accounts correct.

Your Committee endorses the recommendation of the Union Hymnal Committee, "That the members use their influence in behalf of the Hymnal, so that it may in reality become what it was intended to be, a bond of union for all congregations throughout the land."

BARNETT A. ELZAS.
H. G.ENELOW.
FREDERICK COHN.

Continuation of Sabbath discussion.

RABBI S. HIRSCHBERG.—I move that without any further discussion we proceed to vote on the substitute presented by Dr. Silverman.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I object.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I object because it deprives Dr. Silverman and myself of an opportunity to explain our positions.

RABBI HIRSCHBERG.—I think every explanation necessary has been made.

RABBI KOHLER.—I do not know whether this is the right mode of procedure.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I claim that the substitute presented by the President is not a substitute that this Conference can conscientiously adopt, for the reason that it states something that the Jewish religion and the Jewish people have affirmed since time immemorial, and there is no necessity for us to reaffirm that we maintain the Sabbath. That was not the intention of this Conference. This Conference ought not to be afraid of saying to the world that, whilst we maintain the Sabbath, we are at the same time conscious that there are waves in Jewish thought of which we are compelled to take notice. This Conference is not going to lay down supinely, because of telegrams, because of declarations of orthodox presidents. We, too, believe in the Sabbath. We do not need to give any declaration of that kind, and we do not owe anybody any declaration. I stated to the Conference last year that I am a believer in the seventh-day Sabbath, but that, at the same time, I had the courage to state to the world the reasons why our people did not observe the seventh-day Sabbath. And I want to emphasize that. I do not live in the Ghetto. I do not belong to that class of people who say, What shall be, shall be. I am a believer in carefully and rationally investigating the phenomena of my own time, and see what I can do to harmonize my belief with my practice. (Applause.) I do not believe, gentlemen, that you are doing your duty if you go home with the simple declaration that was made so long ago by Moses. I do not believe that you are doing your duty if you go home simply telling your congregations that you have decided that the Sabbath is to remain the Sabbath. That is not the question they have asked you. You owe them a

different answer. If one says to you, "I desire to be a conscientious Jew; I desire to remain in line with tradition; I desire to harmonize my profession with my practice, and here the economic conditions of the times actually prevent me and my children from observing the Sabbath. Whilst you stand there and say that the seventh day is the Sabbath. What shall I do?" How will you, gentlemen, help me in this matter? We are not only men who are consecrated to the rabbinical profession; we are at the same time men of spirit and courage, and we have a right to investigate the phenomena that act adversely upon a celebration of a Sabbath day. I would have failed in my mission entirely if I should not succeed in bringing before the Conference this one point only, that the matter before you is not a declaration of a day, but that the matter before you is whether you as rabbis and as conscientious Jews have fully investigated the reasons why there is such a discrepancy between theoretical profession and the almost universal violation of the Sabbath.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I shall not make a speech. I shall plainly state the exact situation. Last year at New Orleans we had a paper on the Sabbath by Dr. Voorsanger, at the conclusion of which he submitted to the Conference seven questions, of great importance, and of which the first was, "What is our attitude on the Sabbath?" The answers to the other six questions depend upon the answer to this first one. That is the crucial question. The subject was discussed in New Orleans for twelve hours. Then a vote was taken, that a commission of seven be appointed to study this subject and to give us a categorical opinion on every point. The committee reported last Tuesday morning, and this Conference found the committee's report inadequate. It was not presented in a form upon which we could act. The committee was enlarged by the addition of one more member, and given time until this morning to make a report, with the understanding that they were to give definite answers to the seven questions. When the report comes before us we find that the answers are equivocal. They are decidedly ambiguous. Especially the first, which is the most important of all the seven. I shall simply state to you the question, and the answer

that the committee has made. The question which they were to answer is this: "What does this Conference authorize as its final statement regarding its position in the matter of the Sabbath?" The commission answers: "This Conference is composed of rabbis and ministers, to each of whom belongs the inaliénable right of shaping his religious professions in accordance with his religious opinions. In a deliberative body of such a character, there can be no unanimity of opinion upon so important a subject as the Sabbath, and the problem involved in its consideration." The commission was not asked to tell us we had differences of opinion, or to tell us the necessity for these differences. Therefore the first part is entirely gratuitous. That question was not put to them. The second part, which comes nearer the question, says: "Yet the Conference declares, without any hesitancy whatever, that its attitude towards the Sabbath must remain unaltered until a stronger voice than its own shall demand an urgent inquiry into the present disorder, and the incongruity presented by theoretical profession and practical violation of the day of rest." The report says: "The Conference declares its attitude unaltered." What attitude? I ask. The attitude of the Conference is not stated in the answer. It is an ambiguous statement intended to evade the question. (Applause.) And, therefore, it is purely meant as a compromise for the differences of opinion that exist in the committee, and I am not ready here to accept a compromise on such an important question as the Sabbath, and to go forth to the world that all we say is, that our attitude shall remain unaltered, without stating what our attitude is. Therefore I propose as a substitute to this, what our attitude really is, or what it should be for those men who call themselves Jews, viz.: That this Conference declares itself in favor of maintaining the historical Sabbath as the fundamental institution of Judaism and of exerting every effort to improve its observance; and instructs the Executive Committee to appoint a committee to study the methods of carrying this declaration into effect, and to report to the Conference whenever, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, the special committee has made an adequate report as to methods. Now, gentlemen, I say, if it is true, as Dr. Voorsanger has said, that we would stultify ourselves by declaring we are in

favor of the historical Sabbath, then, in God's name, let us thus stultify ourselves. But I claim that we are not. We are strengthening ourselves. We are strengthening others who are weak-kneed on this question of the Sabbath. I know, and you know, that many Jews do not observe the Sabbath, because they cannot. But that is no reason why we should support them in their indifference or in their disinclination to make sacrifices. We shall strengthen those who desire to maintain the Sabbath, and we shall buttress those who are undecided on this subject. Whatever our opinion may be regarding Sunday services, it is immaterial. My congregation has Sunday services supplementary to the Sabbath. Notwithstanding its Sunday services, the congregation is in favor of maintaining the historical Sabbath, and so is its rabbi, and I know there are many congregations in the country that have Sunday services and still insist on preserving the historical Sabbath, as a link between the present and the past, and as a symbol between Israel and its God.

RABBI GRIES.—I believe the reading of the substitute motion, as read by the chairman, is different from the original motion as made in the substitute. The chairman has inserted the words, "Fundamental institutions of Judaism."

RABBI SILVERMAN.—Dr. Kohler suggested that as a substitute or as an amendment, and I accepted it.

RABBI S. HIRSCHBERG.—That change was made by general consent.

(The motion was then put by Secretary Guttmacher.)

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I ask the privilege of explaining my vote. I wish it to be understood that we, who vote the other way, are not opposed to the historical Sabbath.

RABBI KOHLER.—I wish to have it put on record that I am the one who insisted that the historical Sabbath is an inviolable institution of Judaism.

THE SECRETARY.—The substitute is carried—23 to 9.

RABBI GRIES.—In voting on the substitute proposition, it is the privilege of any one to explain his vote. I do not desire at this time to make any explanation of my vote, because the Conference has been sufficiently burdened with discussion of this kind. I ask the privilege be granted me of presenting my reason for my vote in writing.

RABBI VOORSANGER.—I ask the same privilege.

THE CHAIR.—You have the privilege.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I want the statement made in connection with my vote, that it is not on account of the substitute, but on account of a different reason, I vote against it.

On motion, unanimously carried, the consideration of the other points was postponed until next year.

Motion made, seconded and carried that no one shall hold the Presidency longer than two years.

After prayer in Hebrew by Prof. Deutsch the Conference adjourned *sine die*.

During the session of Conference telegrams and letters were received from the following: M. Messing, S. Schulman, I. Blaustein, E. Schreiber, J. Krauskopf, J. Friedlaender, M. Samfield, L. Wintner, M. Newfield, J. Herz, A. Kaiser, J. Wechsler, C. A. Rubenstein, H. Berkowitz, D. Marx, I. Lewinthal, H. Barnstein.

The Conference lecture was delivered by Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber on Friday evening, and the Conference sermon by Rabbi S. Hirschberg, on Saturday morning (*vide* Appendix).

APPENDIX.

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

ASSYRIOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.

By DR. K. KOHLER.

We live in an age of strange contrasts. Wherever we look we find a bold striving for new truths and a revival of old falsehoods, great achievements of human love and violent outbursts of cruel hatred, a wondrous progress of science and a tenacious clinging to superstitious notions, a courageous assertion of manhood and cowardly, cringing servility side by side. Nor are those circles which are expected to imbibe only the clarified air of truth and perfect justice longer immune against the contagion of prejudice, and the scholar whose scientific pursuits ought to lift him to serene realms of thought high above the passion of the multitude is too often seen in these days contributing his full share to the general confusion of the minds and the vexation of the spirit. Such is the impression created by the two lectures on "Babel and Bible," delivered a year ago by Prof. Friederich Delitzsch before the Emperor and Empress of Germany and sent forth with notes and preface in thousands and ten thousands of copies all over the world. Consider the simple fact. An Assyriologist of great fame and originality, the son of Franz Delitzsch, a Christian theologian and Bible exegete of great eminence whose latter years were chiefly devoted to the defense of Jew and Judaism against vile attacks by the anti-Semite, is invited to deliver a series of discourses before an august assembly at the royal palace of Berlin on the results of Babylonian research in their bearing upon Holy Scripture. And how does he avail himself of this rare opportunity? Far from being satisfied with the simple yet highly gratifying task of showing what flood of new light is cast upon the ancient Hebrew life by the Babylonian movements,

and, how the highly developed Chaldean civilization, which is by millenniums anterior to the time of Moses and Abraham, furnished the Hebrews and their predecessors, the Canaanites, with all the elements of culture, with all the material forming the common beliefs, customs and laws of the time, he ventures to make the most unwarranted assertions concerning the high moral and religious standard of Babylon, obviously for the purpose of belittling the Bible and casting a slur chiefly upon the Old Testament. Somewhat more guarded in this respect in the first lecture, in which he at least gave credit to the prophets and psalmists for their superior moral teachings, he makes his second lecture, which was to serve also as a reply to his critics who had censured him for his inaccuracies and for his lack of reverence for the Sacred Scriptures, the occasion of a fierce assault upon the Old Testament, its people and its God, and in a later preface he does not even shrink from charging the second Isaiah with tribalism and hatred of mankind. It cannot be the object of my paper at this late time to refute the statements of Prof. Delitzsch. This has been done by eminent Assyriologists of Germany, France and America and leading Biblical scholars of all lands and creeds. It would be like carrying coal to Newcastle, should I attempt to show how far superior in their moral tenor the Bible stories of Creation and the Flood are to those first deciphered for us thirty years ago by the late George Smith, or how high above the cruel and lascivious deities of Assur and Babylonia with their wild orgies of passion and lust and their abominable rites, so shocking to every refined sentiment, Israel's God of holiness ranks, Whose eyes are too pure to bear the sight of evil and Whom none may approach who is not clean of hands and pure of heart. We willingly acknowledge our thanks to Prof. Delitzsch for having been the first to equip the student with the means of acquiring a systematic knowledge of the Assyrian language by his Assyrian Grammar and Dictionary, and for having also enlarged the horizon of the Biblical scholar by his many valuable publications and such instructive works as is "Das Paradies." All the more deplorable it is to see a scholar of his repute so carried away by his antipathy to the theological systems, in which he was reared, if not by a morbid craving after sensationalism, to place Babel, the "mother of har-

lots," as she is called in the Apocalypse of John, above the Bible, and instead of treating things sacred to millions of people, whether Jews or Christians, with befitting respect, scoff and sneer at Jehovah in the language of the Boulevard. And our disgust at such frivolous disregard of the religious feelings of the people is mingled with surprise at the fact that this harangue, worthy only of an eighteenth century rationalist, should have so impressed the German Emperor that he felt that henceforth Israel was—so he wrote to Admiral Hollmann—"shorn of its prestige as the people of God."

How is it possible, we ask ourselves, that a man of the erudition and standing of Prof. Delitzsch should be so unjust, so unfair, nay, so perverse in his judgment as to render every anthropomorphic expression concerning God in the Old Testament a proof of the low sensual character of the Hebrew faith, as if there were not a hundred times as many passages indicative of the sublimity and spirituality of Jehovah, and to assign to Him whom the heavens and the Heaven's heavens do not contain, "horns," because the Hebrew word used for rays in Habbakuk iii, 4, is "horns" (*qarnayim*). Nay, more, to insinuate that the Israelitish deity was not free from sexual dualism because it is said that "God made man in His image; man and wife He created them." Indeed, we scarcely trust our eyes when we find the laws of Moses, which taught the world righteousness and kindness, declared to be equal and in many respects even inferior to the laws of Hamurabi, the Babylonian King of the time of Abraham, which sanction almost any pagan vice and wickedness in the social and religious life of the people, simply because the warfare against the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan includes or enjoins a number of inhumanities intended to eradicate the evil. Not even the Decalogue, the foundation of our entire civilization, is treated without aspersions. The whole animus is that of unfairness and impiety. And here alone lies the significance of these lectures. As to the contents, it may well be said of them what Lessing said of a work of his antagonist, "Whatever is true in it is not new, and whatever is new in it is not true." It is the characteristic sign of the time, that any professor or writer in Germany who craves for popularity needs but to blow the horn of anti-Semitism and give vent to the furor Teutonicus of a Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Paul La-

garde and Steward Chamberlain, and no matter how groundless his theories, he may be sure of finding favor among high and low. If only care be taken that the New Testament, with its slanderous accusation against the Jews as deicides, be left intact, the Old Testament, God and Judaism may be assailed with impunity. How much of the innocent blood that ran through the streets of Kishineff on the last Easter Days may be traced to such German professorial sham science, God alone knows. Surely such lectures, delivered at the Berlin Court on "Babel und Bibel," do not lead to peace among the classes and the races. To us Jews, then, these lectures offer a very important lesson. Here is a Semitic philologist who, in order to condemn Judaism as a religious truth, places the Old Testament on a level with the Babylonian civilization denounced by Israel's seers as ungodly and inhuman, and declares the sacred writers to be nothing but imitators and plagiarists without any originality. And what is his starting point? Up to modern times the Old Testament was as holy to the Christian as to the Jew, it being regarded by the former as the divine ground-work or preparatory stage of the New. Modern research, eager everywhere to follow up the sources of things, has with every new discovery in the field of mental as well as of natural science offered the undeniable proofs of the human origin of the Bible and all Mosaic institutions. As under the magic wand of the Assyriologist a world of undreamt of splendor rose from the ruins of Mesopotamia before the amazed gaze of our generation, and every Biblical tale and each Mosaic rite received some new light from the hoary past, the belief in a supernatural origin or in the plenary inspiration of the Bible became for the thinking mind well nigh impossible. It is true, there are orthodox Jews and Christians to whom Assyriology presents no difficult problem whatsoever, because they are of that child-like faith which does not hesitate to take such narratives of the Bible as that regarding the institution of the Sabbath by God at the very creation and the worship of JHVH by Enoch, the grandson of Adam, as indisputable actual occurrences. Such perfect naïveté we respect, but we cannot regard it as a phase of belief in harmony with our age, which is above all an age of historical consciousness, an age which sees the vestiges of growth and development in everything that falls within human ken.

Now, what is the attitude of the Christian theologian of modern times towards the results of modern investigation, and particularly in the field of Assyriology? When at the close of the eighteenth century, Egypt opened up her hidden treasures of the past to the modern world, the resemblances discovered between the Mosaic laws and the priestly rites of the Egyptians led the first investigators in their rapturous conceit to the assumption that Moses stole his ideas about God and His laws concerning the sanctuary from the priests on the Nile, and even the name Jehovah appeared to them as the work of plagiarism. To-day when the decipherments of the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments have by far eclipsed those made in the Nile Delta, Moses is declared to be indebted for all he taught and instituted to the Babylonian codifiers and priests. All the wider, then, is the gulf made between the Old Testament and the New Testament, between Moses and Jesus, so as to reserve the claim of divinity for the latter, while the former is unhesitatingly sacrificed. This is the main aspect of the situation. "The divine nimbus of the Jewish people is gone," says his Majesty, the Christian Emperor of Germany, without even for a moment considering whether in speaking thus he does not cut off from beneath his feet the very branch of the tree upon which he stands. "Sauve qui peut," is the cry amidst the modern deluge of ideas. The up-to-date Christian theologian cares very little whether the best and loftiest New Testament utterances have been taken over from Jewish sources or not; he worships, says Prof. Delitzsch, the God of Christ, not the God of Abraham. As a Semitic professor who read his Koran, he has words of admiration for such beautiful passages as the one describing how Abraham by searching found God to be the Ruler and Maker of sun, moon and stars, but he needs not have the least notion that these very passages are Haggadic illustrations of the rabbis transmitted through Jewish sources to Mohammed. To him Judaism is nothing but a narrow, clannish particularism. Why should a German professor heed the ancient Mosaic precept which says: "Do no unrighteousness in judgment; just balances and just weights shall ye have?" (Leviticus xix, 35, 36.)

But then, how about our Judaism? How are we Jewish theologians or laymen, who, following the trend of the time, have learned

to see that the whole Biblical system of life and practice has been shaped under the direct or indirect influence of Babylonian culture,—how are we to deal with these great questions of faith; Bible and Revelation, Law and Ceremony, Sabbath and Levitical laws? There is little doubt in my mind that the ultra-conservative training of Friederich Delitzsch made him a despiser and mocker of the Old Testament. It is a psychological law that naïve orthodoxy, when, on eating of the tree of knowledge, it discovers its own nakedness, is driven far away from its former state of innocence into rebellious belief. I dare say that it is owing to cowardly fear of Bible criticism, and of the modern historical methods of Bible research that Judaism has not produced one Jewish scholar who is the equal of any Christian Bible Exegete of note. This is a bold statement, and I make it without reserve and without fear of contradiction. Should then this deplorable state of things continue and historical Judaism in its various stages of growth find no defender except in the narrow apologetic spirit of the Breslau school or according to the unscientific methods of Samson Raphael Hirsch and his followers?

Only that system of theology which clearly distinguishes between the form and the spirit, between the letter of the law and the underlying idea furnishes us the weapons necessary to defend, and finally to render Judaism as a world-historic power victorious. And this system gives also Assyriology its right setting, inasmuch as it furnishes the most valuable key to the understanding of the whole process of growth of the Jewish faith. For evolution is the master key. It casts its light upon all the stages of Judaism, Prophetism, Mosaism and Rabbinism, and while including also the Christian and Mohammedan faith as offshoots of Judaism, it puts the divine stamp of history upon Progressive or Reform Judaism as the one destined to realize the aims and ideals of the future and leading towards a religion of humanity broad enough to comprise all sects and races. Taking this view, the Reform theologian on opening his Bible is not disturbed by a Biblical cosmogony which has neither an act of creation nor a Creator for the chaos—the *Tehom*—or the primeval darkness—*Hoshek*—and which so operates with the number “seven” while presenting the successive stages of the creative process of the world, that neither from the point of view of natural

science nor with our simple common sense can we accept it as an actuality. Acquaintance with the Babylonian myth at once solves for him the difficulty, while he cannot fail to discern the working of the power of the prophet's spirit in the transformation of the quaint Chaldean story of Creation void of plan and purpose and depicting only quarreling gods and monsters into the sublime, yet simple tale, so full of perennial beauty and poetic truth. The same is the case with the story of the Flood. It is found in its original crudeness in the Chaldean legend, and many features that remain obscure in the two different versions combined in the Pentateuch chapters appear much more transparent in the Babylonian original. Yet how much grander and loftier have the scenes of the world's devastation become under the influence of monotheistic truth which places God as the Judge and Ruler upon the world's throne high above the surging flood, and turns even the rainbow in the sky into a sign of His covenant of peace with the earth beneath. We have as yet, notwithstanding Delitzsch's assertion to the contrary, not discovered the Chaldean original of the Biblical story of Paradise and the expulsion of man, nor of the Tower of Babel, but we shall presumably some day come across them and we can with certainty tell beforehand, with reference to fragments preserved of Berosus by Josephus and in the Sibyllines, and other similar myths, that, instead of the lofty view of God and of man as image of God presented by the Bible, a monstrous Tehom-like serpent, and giants rising in rebellion against God will be found occupying the chief place there. As a matter of fact, many passages in the Bible show traces of those mythological figures of old Chaldean demons or monsters—Rahab and Tannin—whom Jehovah has to combat in order to prove victorious over storm and flood. And so we discern, everywhere, the process of evolution at work which makes the spirit of Jewish monotheism seize upon an often incongruous mythological form, to make it expressive of high and beautiful ideas.

At times we are at a loss to decide whether Chaldea or the still older Arabia, as cradle of the Semites, is the mother of certain views and customs, the law of development remains the same in both cases. The name JHVH which Delitzsch rather rashly claims to have been imported from Babylonia has been with better

reasons derived by other inquirers from the Sinaitic peninsula, and there is undeniably a mythological element attached to the original deity of the Hebrew connecting it with fire and storm, hail, thunder and earthquake and other phenomena of the nature of the desert which proves the Mosaic conception of the same as the God "Who shall be," to be an abstract creation. But, whatever, and, wheresoever, the name JHVH originated, the God of Sinai has nothing in common with either. He is not the creation of Moses. He is at the very start a moral power, and only as such did He appear to Moses and make him a prophet. Each successive generation of prophets aided in sublimating the conception of the Jewish deity which unlike all Semitic deities, manifested itself from the beginning without relation to sex. In other words, Judaism is at the outset ethical Monotheism, whatever the original Decalogue may, according to Bible critics, have contained. The very simplicity of the patriarchal faith lifted the deity at once above all the impurities and abominations of the cults of Babylon, Egypt and Canaan, and the very term for holiness which these pagan nations lent to the lascivious priests and priestesses of Astarte—Kadesh and Kedesha—was by the power of the lofty genius of the Jew so transformed as to become the expression for the very highest ideal of purity and perfection man is to strive for.

What matters it if the penitential psalms of Babylonia served, as has been said, the psalmists of Judea as models, or if the entire Hebrew poetry or prose literature was influenced by Babylonian rules of rhythm and structure, there remains a gulf between the inner life of Babel and that of the Bible as wide as between earth and heavens. On the one side there is a dense darkness of superstition spread over all knowledge and science to fill the heart with gloom in spite of all the gleams; on the other there is, notwithstanding the lesser skill and culture, a faith, a hope and a love which brighten and cheer the soul to make it amidst direst woe cry forth, "If I have Thee in heaven, I need nothing on earth!" and amidst humblest contrition, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; a broken and contrite spirit Thou wilt not despise."

Convincing proof has not been brought as yet, but it may be assumed as certain, that the Sabbath, as a day of rest, originated in

Babylonia where the seventh, the fourteenth, the twenty-first, and the twenty-eighth day of each month and the nineteenth day of each second month, that is the seven times seventh day of each double month, was a day of perfect cessation from work for the priest-king. On the sacredness of the number seven rested the Mosaic system which declared the seventh day of each week, the seventh month of the year, the seventh year and the half-a-year following the forty-ninth year and ending with the tenth day of the seventh month of the fiftieth year, as Klosterman has shown, as a holy season of rest and release, and it is possible that this view or custom goes back to more remote times of Semitic shepherd life. That the Jewish Sabbath was originally like the Babylonian, a rotatory lunar festival and not the closing day of a fixed week such as it is in the Mosaic system, that is to say, that in ancient Israel each month consisted of four Sabbaths or lunar cycles with a New Moon festival of two days of which the second day formed the beginning of the new month, may be learned from the fact that the new moon was in pre-exilic times regarded as the greater holiday than the Sabbath, and the announcement of a second New Moon day beforehand by Jonathan (I Sam., xx, 19ff.) can only be explained upon such an assumption. In fact, the Sabbath is nowhere, neither in the Decalogue nor in the Manna story, spoken of as a new institution, and if the creation story proves anything it is the fact that the Sabbath goes back to remote times and is, therefore, pictured as instituted by God from the beginning. And yet who can compare the Babylonian Sabbath, which was a day of fear and gloom, a *dies nefas*, observed only as a day on which no work should be undertaken by king or priest from dread of the unlucky seven stars, with the Jewish Sabbath which was rendered a day of rejoicing and uplifting for the people, for both master and servant, man and beast, a real day of God? It was, moreover, so essentially different from the Chaldean Sabbath that the law expressly declares it to be a sign distinguishing Israel from the surrounding nations. Thus here again the form was Babylonian; the spirit, the underlying idea is altogether Jewish and far above the Babylonian level, and if Delitzsch claims the merit of having granted the great boon of a Sabbath to toiling humanity for Babylon, he knowingly misstates facts.

But the Assyriologist claims still more. A good fortune has brought us during the past year into the possession of the Code of Law which the great conqueror Hamurabi, believed to be the Biblical Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham, composed for his great empire, and which is a thousand years older than any other code within our knowledge. It affords us an insight into a social order which fairly amazes us by its comprehensiveness. It brings us face to face with a state of culture compared with which Hebrew life may be termed crude and primitive. It fixes by explicit statutes the relations of husband to wife, of parents to children, of master to slave and of employer to employee, and secures protection to every owner of property against any possible injury. Daughters are accorded the right of inheritance, wives their dowry, which is not the case in the Mosaic Code. More than this, domestic life rests on monogamy, though there is no restriction regarding concubines. Is here the legislation of Moses by far eclipsed by the work of the great Napoleon of the fourth pre-Christian Millennium? Thus argues Delitzsch, but in the same fallacious and unfair manner as in all other things. First of all the statement that Hamurabi received his laws from Shamash, the sun-God and heavenly Judge exactly as Moses did his from the God of Sinai rests on an error. Hamurabi is portrayed as worshiping the sun-God, not as receiving the law from him, which in fact is expressly declared by him to be of his own making. The Babylonian law-giver demands obedience to his will and submission to his authority; the Jewish law-giver demands obedience and reverence for the God who speaks out of His law and Whose humble servant he is. And what is the main idea and essential character of this law of Moses? It is not like Hamurabi's, an iron system of bondage in which the inferior is the slave of the superior, and property regarded as of greater value than human life, in which the most cruel punishments are meted out for the smallest transgression and a man beheaded for stealing a piece of property. Justice is written with letters of fire on every statute, justice for poor and rich alike, for the lowly and the one high in station, one law for stranger and for citizen, and every life sacred also that of the slave, every human being to be treated with regard, even the criminal.

There are traces of the ancient Babylonian, or what we would

call common law in the Mosaic legislation. To this belonged for instance, the ordeal of water prescribed for the woman suspected of adultery. In Hamurabi's code it appears in the form of jumping into the river, the one who escaped drowning being considered as having proved herself guiltless. Such an ordeal was known and practiced also in mediaeval or common Teutonic law. The law of retaliation, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," carried out to its most extreme and cruel consequences in the Hamurabi Code, was also part of the Hebrew common law and afterwards amended and abrogated by the rabbis. On the other hand, blood-avenging by the kinsman based on ancient Semitic common law and connected with the idea of asylums or places of divine protection was still in force in ancient Israel but no longer recognized by Hamurabi's legislation. The patriarchal life of the Hebrews has also been shown to have legal practices in common with the Babylonian Code, as for instance the place Hagar occupies in Sarah's household when giving birth to an heir in her stead. Nevertheless there is a little of that deeper sense of justice and righteousness in Babylonian life which forms so prominent a feature in Hebrew law and life. In vain we look in Hamurabi's Code for that feeling of compassionate love for the needy and distressed, that overflowing sympathy for the widow, the fatherless and homeless, which rendered the law of Moses the Code of Ethics for humanity. Nor does it appear only as the flowering forth of prophetic teaching in Deuteronomy. It is expressed with all the touching pathos of a child-like faith in a merciful God in the older legislation of Exodus, the so-called Book of the Covenant. True, monogamy is not insisted on in the Mosaic Code as in the Babylonian, yet who can read the story of Eve's creation or the Deuteronomic legislation without feeling that in the eyes of the Biblical narrator and law-giver, polygamy is condemned. So does the Deuteronomic law regarding the slave and the position accorded to him in Abraham's household or in Job's view show how much higher the personality of the slave is rated by the Hebrew than the Babylonian. To sum up: Babel was a world without justice and without love and compassion, one void of purity and of truth. The Bible opened for man all the deeper treasures of the soul in giving him a God of righteousness and holiness to emulate and follow in humility.

Nor did the influence of Babylonia end with the Bible or the Hebrew age. Babylonian ideas helped in the formation of Judaism and Christianity to a far greater extent than is generally known. Here Delitzsch is for once right, but he only confirms what the rabbis themselves declare, that the whole list of angels and demons was adopted from Babel. What Delitzsch omitted to do—and this is characteristic enough—is to make his assertion broader and stronger with reference to the New Testament. The driving out of demons, which plays such a great rôle in the New Testament, was one of the many practices adopted by the Essene saints and their successors, the early Christians, from the magic system of Chaldea. It was Babylonian superstition transplanted into Judea, and while the great masters in Israel repudiated such practices in Talmudical and mediaeval times, the authorities of the Church without exception encouraged them and built their system on them. Only in mystic lore, in the Cabbalah, Babylonian ideas continued as powers inspiring men with fear, the Bible, wherever it was rendered the basis of faith, cheered the heart with the Creator's words: "Let there be light."

Yes, Babylonia still lives in every superstitious practice, in every astrological or magic belief, in every system of faith based upon the belief in Satanic powers of evil and of darkness; yet over against all such survivals of paganism, against all that which Babel stands for, Jeremiah's words sound forth the scathing cry of condemnation: "Learn not the way of the heathen and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven. There is none like Thee, O Lord; Thou art great and Thy name is great. Thus shall ye say unto them in the language of Babylonia, 'The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth—these shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens.'" This, then, is our answer to all worshipers of Babel and haters of Israel and its Book of Books. Babel is dead and her gods have fallen and all her monuments have crumbled into dust. Israel's God lives and will outlive all His blasphemers. Only let us see to it that we have the men of large vision and lofty spirit, broad-minded and abreast of the age who stand forth as defendants of our heritage, able to answer the scoffer and the assailant of our faith, because they are equipped with the weapons of knowledge.

DISCUSSION ON ASSYRIOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.

OPENED BY RABBI PHILIPSON.

I feel, before saying anything upon the subject, that I am voicing the sentiment of every one here, when I express my deep appreciation of the strong and masterful paper which we have just heard, and our deep admiration for this man, who has expressed, as only a great scholar can, in a terse and powerful way, the positive position we take in regard to this matter. I have felt all along that the best man in the country to stand at the head of the Hebrew Union College is Dr. Kohler (applause), and I feel it to-day more than ever (applause), and I want to congratulate this Conference that the first important scholarly statement that Dr. Kohler has made since his election, has been uttered here; this Detroit meeting will always be associated with this effort of our new president, and I can only hope, that as the years pass, both the Conference and Dr. Kohler will grow in strength together, and work together hand in hand. (Applause.) I do not like to say even one discordant word; my admiration for Dr. Kohler is so great, and my appreciation for all he stands for, but I might have wished that he had not been quite so denunciatory in the beginning and inveigh against Delitzsch as he did. His feelings carried him away. I suppose my feelings would have carried me away also if I had written the paper. But after all, might it not have been better, dear Doctor Kohler, to leave denunciation to anti-Semitism, and for us to show the positive side, as you did so admirably, later on in your paper? The clearness and boldness of statement in this paper cannot be too highly commended. Possibly one great fault of past years in Jewish scholarship and Jewish religious life has been this: that we have not expressed ourselves as boldly and as clearly as we ought; that we have not acknowledged certain defects for fear of the consequences. There is no harm in acknowledging certain deficiencies. No system was made perfect. No religion was perfect in the beginning. The great point, after all, is that which was made in the paper, that Judaism shows a development,

an evolution. And granting this position, and taking this position, then the reform movement stands on a firm historical basis, and is the outcome of all the effort and all the striving of Judaism throughout the ages. And I feel that this point of departure, which Dr. Kohler has taken, and which possibly no one else might have seen in this "Babel und Bibel" controversy is in truth the gist of the matter, as far as the Conference is concerned, and as far as Judaism in this country is concerned. I am glad this pronouncement has been made this morning, because events are shaping themselves so in this country, that it will be more and more necessary for us of the reform side to take this bold, uncompromising attitude, and to show forth to the world what we really stand for, and what our Judaism does mean; that we are not to be forced back into medievalism, or into a romanticism that is blind to the real import of universalistic Judaism, and would resurrect that which Dr. Voorsanger last Saturday so well called tribalism, a condition that we have long ago outgrown. (Applause.)

Some may have thought that it was possibly injudicious for the Executive Committee to assign a subject like this. I want to thank the Executive Committee for its splendid foresight in taking up this subject just now. Because it is absolutely necessary for a rabbinical body like the Central Conference of American Rabbis to be heard on this theme. Nowhere else in the world is it possible. In Europe it is not. Here in America, here on this platform we can, at least, express the sentiments that shall give the lie to ex parte statements like these of Delitzsch, and the whole pan-Babylonian school which is now so popular in the religious world, as the pan-Slavic movement is so popular in eastern Europe, both of which are against the Jew. (Applause.) Now, we can acknowledge our debt of Babylonia; some of our literature did have its inspiration there. What if it did? I believe that no Shakesperean critic for a moment denies that Shakespeare took many of his plots, if not all, from the *Gesta Romanorum*, or from the Italian novelists, but would anybody be so mad as to state that the world is indebted to the writers of the tales of the *Gesta Romanorum*, or to the Italian novelists, and not to Shakespeare, for the great dramas which he wrote and that William Shakespeare must be deposed from his high

position because forsooth he borrowed the plots of his plays from elsewhere? (Applause.)

And then there is another point I wish to make in regard to all this controversy: Our Assyrian scholars arrive at conclusions too hastily. To-day an inscription is deciphered to mean something which to-morrow may be shown to be a mistake. I state this particularly because of the Sabbath controversy. I remember very well that some years ago it was declared positively that the Sabbath was taken from Babylonia, because on a tablet which had been found the word "Shabbatum" was defined by the phrase "um nuh libbi," "The Day of the Rest of the Heart." And the inference was drawn from this that the Hebrew Sabbath was borrowed from the Babylonians. A little while after the reading was seen to be not quite complete, and another word was found in the phrase which now reads "um nuh libbi ilani," "The day for the appeasement of the heart of the gods." Now, these are two entirely different things. The day of the rest of the heart does seem to be a definition of a subjective kind; that men should rest on that day. But what a different interpretation is put upon the word by adding the polytheistic term *ilani*, viz., the day for the appeasement of the heart of the gods by sacrifices, so that this day among the Babylonians was a day of mourning, and not of joy, its characteristic feature in Jewish life throughout all time. (Applause.)

And now a point to which Dr. Kohler has called attention: Delitzsch has dared, aye he has the madness to even suggest the sexual idea in connection with the Jewish conception of the deity. What madness! Can a man be so carried away by a theory; can he be so intoxicated by the wine of his own prejudice, that he dares make a statement that is blasphemous if ever blasphemy was uttered!

I now wish to call attention again briefly, because I must hurry—I cannot take so much of your time in this discussion—to the great thought in Dr. Kohler's paper, and that is the idea of evolution; the idea of development in Judaism. And in passing I want to say that I do hope that Dr. Kohler will work out a theology of Judaism for us of the reform school along this line. We are going to listen to a very scholarly paper on the subject on Thursday morning. I do not know what is in the paper, but I know the man who is going

to present it, and I believe that possibly we will hear something further about the development of Jewish thought, as it culminated in the reform movement. And possibly this Conference will mark a departure in the treatment of the theology of Judaism. Perhaps not so much of a departure as to take up in a public way the great idea to which Geiger and his confreres gave expression long ago, that is, the development in Judaism which leads up to reform, a thought which has been permitted to pass into desuetude during the 60 years which have intervened between that hey-day of the reform movement in Germany, and the present time; during those 60 years the Jews of Germany have forgotten, and have not carried out the great ideas of those men, and if they had, possibly anti-Semitism would not be so strong in Germany as it is to-day. For I firmly believe that in a way anti-Semitism, and fear on the part of the Jew to express clearly the ideas of the present age, hang together. And that not only Zionism is the child of anti-Semitism, but also anti-Semitism is the result in part of that watery orthodoxy which passes as Judaism in Germany.

(VOICES.—No, No, No.)

You have a right to differ. And now just a word in regard to the code of Hamurabi. Who can read the code of Hamurabi without being struck at once with the great differences between it and the Mosaic code. There are some good things in it. I do not for a moment deny that. Dr. Kohler has pointed them out. Monogamy, the place of women, etc., but there are other things in which it stands far below the Mosaic code. Now it is not my purpose to claim that there was no influence exerted by Babylonia on early Jewish thought, and on early Jewish development. Not at all. I am here to protest against the mode of procedure of this modern school of philosophical anti-Semitism, which is possibly the most dangerous of all the phases that anti-Semitism has assumed.

Now, what is the great point of difference between the code of Hamurabi and the code of Moses. The code of Hamurabi is aristocratic. The might of the king and the priests and the nobles is emphasized. The Mosaic code is democratic.

And now a word about the creation story before I conclude:

What is the thought at the bottom of that? The Babylonian account begins with the words "enuma elis, etc.,," "at a time when the heavens were not," and portrays the struggle between Tiamat the dragon and Marduk the tutelary divinity of Babylon. The superiority of Marduk, the Babylonian god, over all the other gods is emphasized. I only mention this to direct your attention to the great difference between its spirit and the spirit of the Biblical creation story, for, after all, is it not the spirit that counts, even according to the Christian idea of Delitzsch and his confreres who say that the letter killeth, but the spirit reviveth? And they point to the letter of the Hamurabi code and the Babylonian account of the beginnings and take no note of the spirit of Mosaism, and the spirit of prophetism that made for the highest ideals, and has brought our civilization to its present high plane.

Let me quote one sentence from the preface of Alfred Jeremias' answer to Delitzsch's "Babel and Bible": "Whoever wants to understand how high Israel stands above Babylon, let him study carefully the prophetical writings." What if Delitzsch does quote a word here and there from these writings which seems to indicate a state of religious thought not so lofty, let him, at least, be honest and confess that the spirit which pervades the prophetical writings is one that makes for the very highest things. I have no fear. The Babel-Bible controversy will pass even as have passed many similar controversies that have aimed to take away the glory of the Bible as the great inspirer of the lofty ideals of humanity, and to the very end of time will stand those great thoughts revealed unto the prophets of Israel by the God of mankind. Brethren, we need have no fear. (Applause.)

RABBI ELZAS.—I rise with some little diffidence to take part in this discussion. I fear that in this matter of Delitzsch we are protesting to much. We say there is nothing new in what Delitzsch said, yet we are raising so much fuss about it that we are giving the subject a factitious importance and are at the same time covering up a number of other points that we shall sooner or later have to debate—the broad questions of Biblical criticism. For myself, I felt when Delitzsch made his now famous addresses, that but for the fact that

those addresses had been made before the Emperor and his court they would have been entirely unnoticed. Delitzsch has been pretty roughly handled to-day, largely deservedly so, largely undeservedly. It seems to me, my colleagues, that the question of the debt we owe to Babylonia will have to come up again, and we shall have to re-study the bearing of the investigations that have been made in the last thirty or forty years. There is no alternative. You will either have to admit that Israel has been fed from a great many sources, or do what we seem to be trying to do to-day, claim everything for Israel as an original creative people. The man who takes that stand has a government contract on his hands. The Jew came in contact with Babylonia not on one occasion only, but twice—first, in the time of Abraham, who brought Babylonian ideas and traditions with him to Palestine, and at the time of the Captivity likewise. It is the most natural thing in the world that he should have developed and modified his ideas wherever and whenever he came across an intellectual people, and was brought into contact with them. Israel learned from all his teachers, and certainly not the least of his teachers was Babylonia. We talk glibly about the Jewish religion at the time of Abraham, about the Mosaic legislation and the law of Sinai. My friends, any one who is familiar with the literature of American Judaism in the last twenty years cannot but know that the very things we are repudiating to-day were just as vigorously fought for a few years ago. I hope that the outcome of Dr. Kohler's paper to-day will be a further paper from a positive standpoint, an investigation critically conducted, yet honestly conducted.

RABBI WILLNER.—The charge against President Kohler that he was too severe, is, in my opinion, not well founded; there is such a thing as *righteous indignation*. ת"ח שאינו נוקם ונוטר כנחש אינו ת"ח When we stand before statements as made by Prof. Delitzsch, how can we remain perfectly quiet? But President Kohler complains of the lack of Jewish scholars. Would their voice be heard? Until now so-called scholars express their views anent Judaism without regard of what Jews have to say; examples of that sort of work are not far to seek.

Now as to the point at issue: We must not forget the difference

that obtains between the Christian and the Jewish reader of the Bible. With the exception of the Psalms and a few other books, which are accepted in the liturgy, the Jew reads Scripture for the purpose of study, while the Christian is apt to do so for devotion. Hence to him who reads a chapter daily, the tenth chapter of Genesis and other genealogies have the same devotional value as a chapter of Isaiah or a psalm. On this difference of method a great deal depends.

Ask a Jew who believes in the literal inspiration of the Bible (*רוֹחַ הָקְרֵבָת מִתּוֹךְ נֶרְנֶנוּ שֶׁל נְבִיאָה*) and his views alone can be used for comparison in this matter—and he will concede as something too well known to need mentioning, that many institutions of Judaism by far antedate the Revelation in Mt. Sinai. He will tell you that the heathen without revelation knew that theft is sinful; that the seventh Commandment was early observed, the Egyptians would rather commit murder than that, as told in the story of Abraham. Nay, he will go so far as to say that many commandments are founded on every-day common sense (*מצוות שכליות*), but their germ can even be traced to the instinct of some lower animals (*Erubim* 100, b.). Close examination teaches him that many of his observances were taken from ancient customs, some changed in form (*e. g.*, *Yibbum*), some entirely altered for the benefit of Israel, though the underlying principle was retained (*e. g.* slavery, the *Go'el Haddam* and others); and consequently he finds no difficulty in this thesis. God has simply allowed certain customs to remain, abolished others, and ordained new ones.

On the other hand, the Christian who reads the whole Bible for devotional purposes only, does not and never will know it. (Similarly, many Jews know most of the psalms by heart, without fully understanding them.) Now to such a Christian every word of the Bible is literally true, inspired and original. And no matter how often he has read this book (for to him it is all one book), he will not find the words, "And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" in Leviticus, but will always read them in the "New Testament." It is on the prejudice and ignorance of these that Prof. Delitzsch works; on them the fact that earlier nations had similar laws, makes a tremendous impression. To them Judaism is summed up in the

words: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" and now suddenly they rub their eyes and find that the *lex talionis* is not specifically Jewish. Well, if this is not original, what in the world is there that is original in Judaism?

As to Hamurabi's code itself—read it! What is it? A shield to protect the poor? Is it not rather the bulwark of the rich and powerful? Whatever crime the latter commits may be expiated by a fine, the poor man is beheaded. Compare with this the Mosaic code which forbids the ransoming of criminals (Numbers 35:31, 32). There are four words in Exodus which show more clearly the spirit underlying the practice of judges in the Hebraic civil courts than any other words that may be put together. The case is this: Theft, as we know, was punished by a fine amounting to double, or four or five times, the value of the thing stolen. Now, if the rich man with whom I deposited something, when found to have misappropriated the article, is forced to pay double, it is a very little matter to him. The poor man, however, who steals to satisfy his hunger, might not be treated as a criminal, and yet, should the law be enforced on him, he would feel its weight in sevenfold manner, for he would have to give up all that is in his house. It was feared that the Jewish judge might by such reasoning be induced to leniency and let the poor thief go unpunished, and therefore the code says וְלֹא תַחֲדֵר בְּרִיכָו "Do not respect a poor man in his judgment" (Ex. 23:3). To credit a judge with mercy to the poor to the extent that he might pervert justice never can enter the mind of a Hamurabi. And yet it is said that his laws are superior to Judaism!

Compare the effects of Babylonian and Mosaic legislation. The king of Syria, finding himself in the extremes of defeat, is told by his councilors: "We have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful;" he therefore surrenders without condition, and is not disappointed. Who was this "merciful king?" None other than Ahab, the idolatrous husband controlled by his precious wife Jezebel, who added to the worship of the calves the immoral worship of Baal. Now בָּא וּרְבָּא מַה בֵּין פָוֹשֵׁעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחַסְדֵי אֹוֹהֶן compares the conduct of this godless and wicked Israelitish king, living in a barbarous age, with the acts of the "religious" and

"civilized" soldiery in the beginning of the twentieth century, as exemplified in China!

Which is the nobler? Which civilization, Babylonian or Jewish, breathes more love for human kind? Hamurabi's code—as I have read it—contains no law of kindness, no consideration for the less fortunate; no *שכחה ונאה* *מַקֵּבָה* no poor laws as the code of Judaism (especially Deut. 24: 10-13.)

We have heard of the two lectures by Delitzsch; it seems to be forgotten that he recently delivered a third at which also the German emperor was present, and in which Delitzsch omitted everything that was objectionable to the Kaiser. Is this scholarship or cowardice, which? Shall the results of research be dominated by a *Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden?* Is reliance to be placed on words emanating from such a scholar? Does not this very fact vitiate his claim for respect?

I believe it is right and proper to show to the world wherein Delitzsch erred, because the common people, believing him to be the most eminent scholar in his line (having heard of so few besides him), may not have entered deeply into the spirit of the Bible, and would therefore accept his every word as truth. But for the true scholar his lectures are without value, and perhaps we honor him too much by soberly treating his words in serious argumentation. Like Dr. Philipson, I have no fear either of lower or higher anti-Semitism; this matter must pass into oblivion; but it is indeed—as Dr. Kohler well said—a pity that a man of such scholarship, having such an opportunity to popularize a study, should so far forget himself as to ruin his reputation by catering to the lowest motives of the rabble. Instead of using his opportunity to show the world that Assyriology, far from antagonizing the Bible, explains it, he has brought on a controversy which belittles him and his science.

This is a serious point to make; that so many scholars should allow the religious views in which they were trained to warp their better knowledge and judgment. Why? Does not a writer in the *Biblical World* of May, 1903, discussing the question, "What Shall the Adult Bible Class do with Modern Biblical Scholarship?" though strenuously upholding these results, say that where these results would do harm to the pupils' faith "they had better be left alone.

Faith is more important than knowledge." Or, in other words, religious beliefs are preferable to truth; or the judgment passed and handed down by generations of men, may be maintained, though we know them to be wrong. We may, perhaps, have the same fault. If Delitzsch lectures are the "warning example" showing the results of such sort of scholarship, and pointing out a way for us to beware of letting our preconceived views direct our research, they may turn to be a blessing.

As to the code of Hamurabi, I doubt its originality; it may be but an enlarged and modernized edition of a former code; it may have had, as Dr. Kohler said, an influence, so that it was taken by the Israelites as a Common Law, as *leges non scriptæ*. But it is the law for the oppressor, the Bible shields the oppressed; it is the law of the tyrant, the Bible that of freedom; freedom for all, the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless. It is the law of cruelty, and it failed; the Bible is the law of love, and it did, it must, and will prevail.

PROF. MARGOLIS.—The air is so thick with anticipations that I am afraid I may anticipate my own paper to be read on Thursday, but I don't care if I do steal from my own. I shall be very careful, however. I am not an Assyriologist *von Fach*. But I am somewhat of a Biblical student, and I know enough of the trend of the work of to-day. And now a few words about Delitzsch himself. Delitzsch is just like the average German professor. At home in his own subject he is a dilettante outside of it, and this work by Delitzsch shows dilettantism on every page. His Assyriological statements we need not enter into or question, but when he steps out into the field of Biblical science and theology he is open to criticism, not only on the part of scholars, of the students of the Old Testament, but on the part of every man of common sense. He seems to be operating with the antiquated doctrine of verbal inspiration, thus putting himself on a level with the vulgar orthodoxy of the day; he therefore has no right to resent the vulgar criticisms of certain clergymen (see the end of his pamphlet.) (The speaker here submitted several of Delitzsch's statements to a criti-

cism and then concluded:) I fail to understand how a man who so earnestly pleads for the composite character of the Pentateuch can become untrue to his own position. He applies the same exegesis to the Priest's code as to the Jahvist. In Genesis 3:22 there may be a polytheistic reminiscence. But this proves little for Genesis 1:27. The first chapter of Genesis was written by a man who, as has been pointed out, avoids throughout his work all anthropomorphism; he surely could not have meant by the image of God what Delitzsch imputes to him. Delitzsch furthermore tells us that in the esoteric circles of Babylon the monotheistic idea was taught. Granted. But this is the most important difference between Babylon and Jerusalem: what among the Babylonians was but the possession of the few initiated was common property among the Jews. Therein consists the real merit of Judaism of which it were futile to rob it.

PROF. G. DEUTSCH.—I did not intend to speak to the point at issue, except in so far I believe the most important thing that can be said in this discussion is not dependent on philological research. What I mean is this: Hamurabi, we have heard from Dr. Kohler, was identical with Amraphel, on which I have no opinion. But I have read that Prof. Oppert, one of the leading men in Assyriology, denies that. So when the authorities differ—we don't know. Another thing is about the Yahve. Whether there is any mention of Yahve in the cuneiform inscriptions or not, I don't know. But Barth says it is not so. It is a misreading. Consequently the question is open to me.

Another thing, and it has been pointed out, but I wish to emphasize it more clearly: Shakespeare's Hamlet is a masterpiece of English literature, admitted by all, still Hamlet is taken bodily from the Roman Cestorium of the thirteenth century. Goethe wrote Faust, and the essential parts of Faust are found in the Volksbuch of the sixteenth century. No one will say Shakespeare and Goethe have been plagiarists. But that is not what I was going to say. I have certainly been greatly benefited by the paper and by the discussion that followed. It seems to me only one thing requires

statement, perhaps on my part more than on anybody else's. It is the statement that Dr. Philipson, who, unfortunately, is not here, said that anti-Semitism is largely due to the fact that reform has become so stagnant throughout Germany. I think that is not correct. Of course, we may have differences of opinion on the subject, but we can have no difference of opinion on that one subject that a man has an undeniable right to his religious views. The orthodox, for example, prays to God that "the moon shall become full, and shall never decrease, and the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun." Now, this is perfect nonsense, but at the same time it gives no one the right to discriminate against a man who believes in it any more than to discriminate against a man who believes that one who is not baptized will be damned forever, or who pilgrimages to the holy coat of Treves. This, I think, we owe to our dignity as a body which is largely composed of Reformed Jews, that we stand on the platform of the great Gabriel Riesser, who was the foremost advocate of Jewish rights in Germany. He sympathized with reform, but he did not believe that the Jews had to give up one particle of their dogma, or one of the most superstitious features of their practice in exchange of political rights or social recognition. (Applause.)

RABBI ENELOW.—I trust on seeing me up here you will not expect any original addition to the large subject that has been under consideration. I am, as the majority of us, a preacher by profession, and a Jewish minister, and while personally awake to the various demands of scholarship made upon the minister of to-day, I must confess, that, whatever, work I have been doing on this line has been of the most cursory character. However, I suppose all of us feel deeply in this matter of Babel and Bible, and that it is not a subject appertaining strictly and solely to the scholarly world. It is a question that has stirred not only the scholarly world in recent months, or the last two years rather, but one that has aroused the soul and conscience of the laity also, both Jews and Christians. And for that reason, though but a humble preacher, and a mere dilettante in this branch of scholarship, you may permit me to say a word or

two on this subject to which, indeed, I have given as much thought as has been possible under the circumstances.

Being one of the least of the disciples of the wise, it may be impertinent for me to pass compliments on the paper of a man who is among the very leaders of Jewish thought to-day. Yet, let me say at the outset, that as a man interested in all questions that perturb the consciences of religious men to-day, I am more than satisfied, elated, with the paper of this morning. Some of us may have come hither this forenoon expecting to listen to an analytical and coldly scientific statement of the subject in question, such as we should have good cause, indeed, to anticipate from the man who has been known to the majority of us mainly as a strict and accurate scholar. But I came hither with no such anticipation. I was in hopes that Dr. Kohler would do just the thing he did, namely, that he would present to this Conference, and through the Conference to the world, a positive Jewish statement of our views on this theme which for the last two years has stirred and agitated the souls of the great civilized world. There is no man from whom I am more ready to learn the laws of philology and true scientific research than from my former teacher, Dr. Margolis. And I am glad that but a few moments ago he stated one of the canons of philological criticism, namely: that a man in trying to interpret the work of another must not permit himself to be guided simply by the sense of each separate word or letter, but must first of all understand the motive of the work, must first understand the work as a whole, and in its larger relations, and then seek to interpret each word, each sentence and phrase, separately. And it were but just that I be allowed to use this weapon against the good words of Dr. Margolis himself. I think it was preeminently essential, in the presentation of this paper, to seek to present to the Conference, and through the Conference, as I have said, to the world that is observing our work, that behind the work of Delitzsch, as we honestly and sincerely are forced to believe, there are certain *motives*, motives we cannot approve, nay, motives that cannot be approved of by any man of true justice and humanity.

Moreover, Mr. President and colleagues, I am most gratified to

give it as my personal opinion that the paper displayed excellence in several directions. First of all, I think it is a paper that will contribute towards the arousing of the world of scholars, and of laymen, towards this one important fact, a fact of surpassing importance, one that has been evident to all conscientious and intelligent students of Judaism and religion at large for some time, namely this: That the Christian world has not been over-anxious to pay heed to what the Jews have to say on the subject of Judaism. It is this fact that inspired the article written recently by Mr. Montefiore, of England, in the *Hibbert Journal*, on Jewish Scholarship and Christian Silence, on the manner in which Christian writers disregard the results of Jewish scholarship. And this Christian silence which is observable in the scientific world, my friends, as you all know, is even more evident in the Christian world at large. The Christian world at large shows very little interest, or takes very little stock, in what the Jews themselves have to say about their Judaism. There is no man, possibly, here who has greater regard for the thought of Christians, or deeper affection for some individual Christians, than myself. And yet, I have often listened to words coming from good and well-meaning Christian ministers concerning Judaism that have betrayed such utter ignorance of the character and the development of the spirit of Judaism, as would have been most reprehensible, if anything corresponding to it were found in a Jewish minister in relation to the spirit and the development of Christianity. I mean to say that the Christian world at large exhibits an ignorance of, and smug indifference to, the Jewish interpretation of Judaism, similar to that so recently depicted and deplored in the higher regions of scientific thought. And we ought to try and correct that habit of our neighbors. This paper should go forth to the world as a protest against the attitude of indifference on the part of the masses at large to our conception and reading of Jewish problems.

The second good point of the essay is in that it emphasized the developmental side of Judaism. I think that in order to be able to stand before the world as consistent and genuine interpreters of Judaism, we must understand, and understanding it, we must cease-

lessly teach, that Judaism is a religion that has developed, and that we are not ashamed of the origins of our religion, nor anxious to disown any of its former stages, or belittle any of its ancient efforts and ideas. We are conscious that our religion, from the very beginning, has had within it the forces of development, and that by those benign forces it has ever grown and developed and expanded, and created new phases and features, and brought forth new fruits of righteousness and spirituality from age to age. And only according as we grow proud of the developmental character of our religion, and are able to stand before the world as sincere and earnest students of its history, and are willing to honor and acknowledge every one of its phases, we shall be able to gain for it a respectful hearing and unbiased judgment. I remember that the great scholar Frazer, in his famous book, "The Golden Bough," containing a study in anthropology, somewhere lays stress upon the obligation under which the civilized world to-day is to the prehistoric pioneers, to the savages, to the semi-civilized world. I think it is a thing well worth remembering. Civilization surely owes a great debt to those early pioneers, savages, call them by whatever name you please; for those early pioneers it was who, still unpossessed of the fruits of civilization and thought into which we have come as our natural heritage, first began to struggle and strive towards the higher stages of life, the higher thoughts and higher things. And by their struggles and efforts they made it possible for us to start life enriched, and for our world to be beautified and spiritualized. I am perfectly ready to admit that our ancient Jewish forefathers, in a measure, belonged to those pioneers, who, though unpossessed of a fully developed religion, of a full-blown faith, yet had within them the germ of growth and effort and spiritual ambition, and thus began that long endeavor of the centuries, which, thank Heaven, has finally flowered forth into the thought and the knowledge that are ours to-day. And it is only by recognizing the evolutional character of our religion that we shall be able to translate into it our latest phase of life, and adjust it to our newest requirements, and present it to the intelligent world in a manner that it will needs honor and respect. That is my second point.

And yet a third point, my friends, appertains to this: there is one characteristic about Judaism which under all environments has enabled it to reject the foreign and the non-essential, and yet adopt and preserve the congenial and essential, and thus adapt itself to ever new environments, without, in the process, either losing its identity or betraying its foundation principles. The importance of this point for our discussion may not be apparent at first blush, but grows clear as we study the problem more profoundly. I maintain that just because Judaism is naturally a religion of development, it has been able invariably to adapt itself to new environments; but it has always sought, while adopting new things suitable and assimilable, and rejecting old things obsolete and not quite essential, it has always sought, I say, to insist upon those basic things which are paramount and essential to the preservation of Judaism. (Applause.) And I think this is exactly what happened in Babylon. This I may venture to assert, though not an authority on the subject. For, have I not read the Second Isaiah, and must I not draw the conclusion from the Second Isaiah, that just at that time there was going on a combat within the ranks of Babylonian Judaism, that had for its end the rejection of certain practices and superstitions that were out of harmony with the eternal spirit of Judaism, and that bade fair to creep into it under the new conditions, and a constant accentuation of those things which were sacred and un-touchable for the sake of the preservation of Judaism? (Applause.) My friends, before Mr. Delitzsch can convince me that the Jews borrowed unintelligently and indiscriminately and unconscionably from Babylonian sources, he must tell me why it is that the Second Isaiah conducts a continual contest with those men who disbelieve in the creation of the world by one great Creator. He must tell me why it is that in the thought of the Second Isaiah there is not one note struck more frequently than this: that one God created the heavens and the earth; that one God was the fountain of light and darkness; that one God was the source of good and evil; that one God was the creator of the universe. As far as I am concerned, I can see in it but another illustration of the conception ever recurrent in Judaism, viz.: that a religion should, when coming into a

new environment, be anxious to harmonize its old native ideas with the new culture and scenes, yet only in so far as the new environment does not jeopardize the preservation, or contradict the essentials of the old faith; but if in the new environment there be found any elements fundamentally detrimental to the life of the old religion, and subversive of its teachings, then those very teachings, thus imperiled, should become the backbone of the new contest, the very standard, as it were, borne aloft in the new battles. Now, the chief contest between Judaism and Babylonian life and law did not lie in a few non-essential fables, in a few tales and myths that are neither here nor there, but it concerned the fundamental conceptions of life, of creation, of Deity. The fundamental conception of Babylon was polytheism, the creation of the world by a number of fighting gods, the creation of the world by a number of demons that had to struggle with one another for supremacy; and it is, therefore, that the Second Isaiah, the great leader and shaper of the contradictory thought, the Jewish monotheistic thought, again and again struck that master note of Israel's religion—the creation of the world by one God, one Father, the source of light and darkness alike, of good and evil—and dwelt on that as the leading thought of the times. In this alone, my friends, there lies to me the surest proof that the Jews of Babylon were not mere imitators, that the Jews were not mere borrowers, that the Jews were not cultural kleptomaniacs, that they were not men prone to steal from the spiritual and intellectual treasures of others, and pass those thefts on in their own name, and under their own labels. Indeed, it proves that the Jews, like all men destined to play a rôle in the theater of civilization, were then, as ever after, anxious to compromise with the new life as far as was necessary for the furtherance and the broadening and the expansion of their own lives, but at the same time remained conscious of the inviolable condition of all true life, which is, that so soon as your own fundamental principles are endangered by the new life, you must stand up for your own principles, which are the very most sacred treasures of your life, the best portion of your mind and soul. And both intensity and expansion have been the keynotes of Jewish thought. (Ap-

plause.) Now, therefore, my friends, I say that this is what Delitzsch must prove to us before we shall honestly be able to accept his doctrine. He must tell us why it is that the Second Isaiah, who to us is the leader and framer of the Jewish thought of those times, seems to be conducting a continuous battle against the prevalent Babylonian thought of the age. And furthermore he must tell us whether it is the Babylonian view of creation or the view of Isaiah that has been adopted by modern civilization. (Applause.) My dear friends, I am extremely interested in this topic. I am no philologist. I wish I were. I have not had the time to enter deeply into this subject. I have read Delitzsch. I have read a number of other things, but I cannot proceed along these lines, because I do not feel entitled to monopolize your time. I feel, and I am confident, that my thesis can be proved by a number of instances, by a number of Jewish institutions; but I cannot enter upon it now.

Permit me before closing to express again, as a humble student, fain to admire scholarship wherever found, to express again my deep sense of gratitude to the man who made us this morning partakers of his noble paper. If I did not fear lest I be charged with monopolizing—or rather let us say, lest I be be-Delitzsched for taking—the thought of somebody else, I should bring before the Conference a suggestion made to me informally at lunch this noon; Rabbi Leo Mannheimer, I think, expressed a good idea when he said to me this noon: This paper of Dr. Kohler's ought to be published as a tract, and thousands of copies sent forth broadcast over the intelligent world, as a positive, honest, sincere statement of the Jewish scholar concerning this entire controversy. (Applause.) I have been too long a student and admirer of Dr. Kohler's writings to hesitate to give expression to my admiration for his solid and impartial scholarship. Any one that has read but one article from his pen, any one who has read his essay on "Christianity" in the Jewish Encyclopedia, knows what is to be expected in a scientific, yet broadly humane, way from Dr. Kohler. (Applause.) And, my friends, even before I knew I should have occasion to say these things, I meant to make this one comment upon our paper. I meant to comment upon the absolute scientific fairness of the writer of the

paper. Dr. Kohler admitted that the Jews have been indebted to the Babylonians to a certain extent. Dr. Kohler averred that Christianity and Mohammedanism, to a certain extent, were the children of Judaism and paganism. But our position is this: that whilst these other movements have been expressive of certain spiritual thoughts and ideas, we believe that Judaism, as we have it to-day, has been the only true and logical development of those ideas which are recorded in the pages of Amos and Hosea and Isaiah. We mean to be naught but fair, honest, scientific. Our appeal to the modern world of intelligence is just this: Listen to the Christian side; listen to the Mohammedan side; but give us a hearing also. (Applause.) We have worked, we have developed, we have a large literature, we have a sacred, spiritual heritage; and are not we entitled, as well as the others, to the fair and honest and scientific judgment of this great enlightened world of civilization? That is the only standpoint we can take before the world on this question. We are perfectly willing to admit with the philosopher that there is a soul of truth in things erroneous, as Herbert Spencer says in the very opening paragraph of his "First Principles." There is a soul of truth in things erroneous, and we Jews are but too eager to search it out. But shall not the careful and impartial standards of scientific judgment be applied to Judaism as well as to the other phenomena of the intellectual and spiritual world? I will close—repeating my admiration for this paper, because it was scientific, because it was to the point, because it emphasized the true character of Judaism, because it showed that Judaism is a religion of development and growth, and because, it, furthermore, wisely alluded to our willingness to admit whatever debt we may owe to former civilizations and other peoples, but at the same time laid stress on our claim that, after all, Judaism is entitled to a hearing, and that it shall be judged not only from our enemies' standpoint, but also from our standpoint, the standpoint of the Jews, to whom it is the religion of truth and humanity, the greatest humanizing force that civilization has known from the beginning even unto this day. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT SILVERMAN.—With regard to a remark of Dr. Enelow, I will say this, that when the committee called upon Dr.

Kohler to ask him to write this paper we said to him we wished him to prepare a paper which shall be the authorized answer of American Judaism to Dr. Delitzsch, and that the Conference will approve of it, and we shall print it as a tract, and send it broadcast, and we shall send the Emperor William and Dr. Delitzsch each a copy. (Applause.)

RABBI F. COHEN.—I, too, have read the Second Isaiah, and besides all these universalistic truths which Dr. Enelow has emphasized impressing themselves upon me, there is another truth expressed in a verse that has been ringing in my ears in connection also with that grand history of Judaism in the Babylonian era, a verse which has particular applicability to events which have recently aroused the entire world. I refer to this very matter of "Babel und Bibel" (I have often been tempted to add "Babble"), and the verse is Isaiah 54. v. 17 כִּלְכֵל יֹצֵר עָלֶיךָ וְכָל לְשׁוֹן תָּקוּם אַתָּךְ "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn." What is it that aroused us so about this Delitzsch lecture? Not the chance they gave us to brush up our knowledge with regard to Assyriology, not because of the opportunity to refer to our Boscawen, and go over again the field of the similarity between the monuments and the Jewish tradition. Our specialists, Assyriologists and Semitic scholars, would perhaps have been interested for this reason. But what is it that has caused us to be so intensely interested as Jews, as rabbis, as to make this a special subject of the Conference, though it seems to have been added to the program only a little while ago? To the rest of the world it was of interest not so much because it was spoken before the German emperor, and thus received greater public attention, but, I think, because it touched (what to us is quite familiar, but what to the majority of Christians is yet heresy), it touched the question of Biblical criticism. Their point of view was this—not considering the question of the originality of the Jew at first at all—their view was this: If the Jews got the Bible, the Old Testament, from the Babylonians, then it did not come direct from God; and that was an argument against revelation and the infallibility of the

Scriptures, and from that point of view it aroused the interest of the Christian world, at least of the average Christian, and not because of association with the German emperor, although all like to read what the Kaiser says. He is quite popular just at present. But that has not aroused us as Jews. Neither is it that we are so loth to allow that the Babylonians influenced the Jews; we are not so chary in acknowledgment as not to admit that other people, whether Babylonians, Egyptians or any other, particularly of the older races, have influenced us and influenced us considerably; I believe that our traditions reveal, I believe that our literature shows, as it explicitly states, our indebtedness to surrounding peoples from the time Moses was supposed to have worked over the *זבחים* (the sacrifices) and readapted them to the needs of Israel. The best Jewish historians have acknowledged this in their writings, but that fact has never caused us to protest. But why is it that we are so stirred? It is because of the fact, as Dr. Philipson just hinted at in his remarks, of the appearance of a new symptom—a deadly symptom. Many weapons have been forged against Israel in the past . . . Weapons of all kinds have been brought against us in all ages from the very days of Abraham. Hitherto it has been our consolation that all these were but weapons of ignorance, of prejudice, of blind passion, and therefore we felt that we could afford to despise them. But what is it that we see to-day? We see a weapon forged in the name of science, *science*, that which we have come to consider as the highest standard of absolute truth . . . Just at this time, when the Jewish position is critical throughout the world, a mighty instrument is constructed in the proud name of science, and wielded against the Jew, a weapon which, compared with previous weapons, is like the modern enginery of war compared with the old crude bows and arrows. Professor Delitzsch *did not* give us a mere scientific presentation of the indebtedness of the Jew to Babylon, but he went out of his way (we cannot help but see there is a motive behind it), he went out of his way to forge for anti-Semitic Germans, and for whosoever might wish to use it, an archæological Krupp gun, for the use of anti-Semitism. And that is why in my Jewish soul there has been resurrecting those grand words of the prophet Isaiah: Even this

scientifically (?) forged weapon shall most miserably fail. We have God's word for it that *anti-Semitism* is *God-condemned*. We have God's word for it that no matter what methods may be brought to bear, what agencies invoked, if they are inspired by hatred of the Jews, *they shall not prevail!*

DR. KOHLER.—I will say that I am greatly indebted to my critics, because I have learned from all of them, even from those who dissent, and there are not many who did. I am happy to be told that I struck that chord of feeling which makes us all one; that while trying to present a scientific paper, I have not forgotten that I speak as a rabbi to rabbis. (Applause.)

I will say about the several criticisms—comments I would rather say—made upon my paper, the four that have essentially added to what I said, that is, the three gentlemen who spoke before noon, have made me feel that my paper did not bring all that I might have brought out, had I had a little more time for work. I myself would, for instance, have brought out that idea which Dr. Philipson only slightly touched upon: the creation story ends with the victory of man; the Babylonian creation story ends with the victory of Baal Marduk, and that means the victory of power, material power. This, indeed, represents paganism. The pagan deity is power. The Jewish Godhead is love, or rather righteousness, righteousness including love. In the pagan story the world-powers wage war against each other and the strongest wins. That is creation. That is the bringing out of a world. In Jewish story it is an all-comprising wisdom, a far-seeing Designer who creates, and while in the Assyrian story it says everything was delightful, in the Jewish narrative it says God said that each day's work was good, and in the end God puts the seal upon it—*tob meod*, very good—the whole creation is stamped with the seal of goodness. What a difference! The form is taken from there, yet how different is that which is developed out of this crude material by prophetic Judaism. And so I could go through the whole. Dr. Willner misunderstood me when he objected to my saying or using the term Jewish Assyriologists. I know we have several eminent Jewish Assyriologists whose works are very valuable, but what we need is—and even our brother Mar-

golis will admit—Bible exegetes of the first rank, and I am speaking of my own experience as an editor of the Jewish Encyclopedia, if I say we have none who ranks with any of the great Christian theologians. Now, we need no Jewish wake-up in philology, but we need Biblical students who give us that view of the history of Bible and Judaism which may serve as the foundation to build progressively and positively, the most positive Judaism that is possible, and Judaism so positive as to show, as the mayor of this city so beautifully said, that there is no end to the positive progress; so positive that it may take in all that is good, all that is true, and yet remain Judaism. (Applause.)

In regard to what Dr. Willner said, every word of which I gladly subscribe to, I will say that I feel really indebted for the way he presented to us the Second Isaiah, because he brought Isaiah for us in such close touch with Babylonian life, that we almost saw him before us. Only he might have touched upon the Sabbath laws, as becoming then the fundamental institution of Judaism.

Only one word in regard to Dr. Deutsch's remark. I am far from endorsing the idea that Jehovah is found on the Assyrian monuments. In fact, I do not believe that the name has been found. In regard to the identification of Hamurabi and Amraphel, I will say Renan was, I believe, the first to identify the two.

One word more in conclusion. I must say that my innermost feelings were aroused the moment I took my pen into my hand to write this essay, because I feel I cannot be a scholar unless I can be a Jew at the same time. (Applause.) To me truth should be clear, lucid, objective; nevertheless it ought at the same time to have the warm pulse of life, or else it is no truth for me; it is no truth for man. We must have that truth which touches the heart as well as the mind; not a matter of reason only, but also of the soul. Now, in regard to Frederich Delitzsch, I had just that feeling. I knew his father, Prof. Franz Delitzsch, very well. Many a day while I studied in Leipsic I went with him to the café, and it is worth stating that though he was a supporter and founder of all missionary works and institutions, he was indeed a true and sincere friend of the Jew, of Judaism; he read the Hebrew periodicals, and often he asked me to translate a rare word for him. Once he asked me

why we rationalists among the Jews didn't study his exegetical works, whereupon I answered with all my admiration for his commentary on Job, that had just appeared, "I must say: Because, professor, you wrap up your wealth of thoughts in too much of your dogma, and we cannot find the time to peal it off the kernel." Now, this Prof. Delitzsch, the father, I feel certain, would as seriously and as vehemently resent, were he alive, the attitude of his son, as we do. I know that the son, intoxicated, I suppose, by his own success, has become disloyal to the teaching of his father, and for that reason I have not been sparing, I admit, in criticising him, though I tried to be as objective as possible. I know that Franz Delitzsch would never have given his consent, as far as paternal authority could go, to the son's taking the attitude towards Judaism which he did. (Applause.)

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

THE SABBATH COMMISSION.

REPORTED BY THE CHAIRMAN. (DR. VOORSANGER).

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Detroit.

BRETHREN.—On behalf of the Sabbath Commission appointed at the New Orleans' Conference (1902) to submit an expert answer or Gutachten to the seven questions attached to my paper on "The Sabbath Question," I beg leave to present the following report, which, though wholly incomplete, indicates the delicate character of the work intrusted to the commission. At the outset it is necessary to call attention to the widespread misunderstanding that seems to exist in regard to the scope and purport of the commission's activity. It should be immediately emphasized that the Conference at no time made any move whatever toward changing the historical Sabbath; that therefore the commission had no call to consider the expediency of changing the Sabbath to any other day, but simply to report upon the seven points submitted last year for the consideration of the Conference. Despite this simple fact, false impressions have been created, partly through inadequate and incomplete press reports, partly through the biased misinterpretations of persons who can see no good whatever in the reform synagogue, to the effect that the National Conference of American Rabbis had instructed the Sabbath Commission to prepare a report upon the advisability of changing the Sabbath. The unjust character of this charge will become at once apparent when, by your leave, I submit the introductory communication addressed by me, on December 19, 1902, to the members of the commission. Leave is also asked to make this document a part of the present report.

Substantially the points submitted to the commission were as follows:

First. A definition of the religious authority under which American Judaism is proceeding.

Second. A definition of the ethical and economic principles underlying the Sabbath.

Third. An inquiry whether a change from Sabbath to Sunday would not constitute a schismatic act which might convert Reform Jews into a separate sect and create a rupture in the confraternity of Israel throughout the world.

Fourth. An inquiry into the spiritual and educational means by which Sabbath observance could be fostered and promoted.

Below follows the introductory communication:

SAN FRANCISCO, December 19, 1902.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR AND BROTHER.—The Year-Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for 1902, on page 99, contains the following resolution: 6. *Resolved*, That the Executive Committee appoint as soon as possible a commission to present to the next Conference an expert answer (*Gutachten*) to the seven questions propounded at the end of Rabbi Voorsanger's paper. The commission, according to the same reference, is composed of the following members of the Conference:

Voorsanger, San Francisco, Chairman;
Sale, St. Louis;
Heller, New Orleans;
Deutsch, Cincinnati;
Sonneschein, Des Moines;
Harrison, St. Louis;
Enelow, Louisville.

Assuming that you have consented to serve on this commission, I venture to address this introductory circular to you, believing it advisable, so far as I understand the intended scope of the commission's activity, to explain the same to you, and trusting to receive from you and the other members of the Conference in return such suggestions as will aid the Conference in arriving at some definite conclusions regarding its position on the question we have been appointed to consider. Permit me to add that only at this time, after much anxious consideration, have I been able to present my suggestions in a concrete and consecutive form, and this may account for the comparative lateness of the beginning of our correspondence.

But as there will be just six months left us before the convocation of the next Conference we may hope to achieve some results, and, if possible, present a unanimous conclusion upon the questions submitted to the commission.

At the New Orleans Conference I had the honor of submitting a paper on "The Sabbath Question," which you will find in pp. 103-122 of the Year-Book, and which concluded with seven suggestions, which are to constitute the topic and basis of our deliberations. Before assigning you to one of these suggestions for specific study and consideration, it may be wise to keep in view the responsibility of the Conference as regards the entire Sabbath problem. The fundamental question might well be put in these words: Is there really a Sabbath problem? There are surely some problems connected with the Sabbath. There is the problem of its violation by thousands of our people, for reasons more or less adequately stated in my paper; there is the problem of the effeminization of the synagogue, resultant from the neglect of our men to attend the services; there is the problem of revitalizing the domestic character of the Sabbath; there may be, and undoubtedly are, other problems; but is there, or can there be, any problem regarding the day itself? Even if unhappily we are forced to admit that our people rest on the day they decline to recognize as the Sabbath, and labor on the day they still recognize as Sabbath, thereby rendering themselves censurable in the extreme for an inconsistency which begins to assume the magnitude of a moral problem,—is even this a proper ground for considering that the day itself is, or can be, subject to the exigencies of rabbinical legislation, or to speak bluntly, that it can be changed to another day by the dictum of a Conference?

It seems to me, we must feel our ground very carefully before answering so far-reaching a question in the negative. My paper gave my own point of view as plainly and distinctly as possible, though I regret that it has given rise to many misconceptions. It gave the reasons why the Sabbath is violated; but it presented at the same time a statement that these reasons were not sufficiently valid to justify our breaking away from our historical foundations: Incongruous as the whole matter seems to appear at the present time, the fact remains, that our Conference cannot change the Sabbath; that no other body of teachers would or can make so radical an

innovation until the logical facts and conditions become so strong, so inexorable, that the complete decay of the Sabbath, the consequent popular acceptance of the Sunday would justify—no legislation—but the rabbinical precedent of fixing the conditions that have converted usage into law and practice. At this point, what appears to be the most important consideration, injects itself. The Sabbath problem, in so far as it is a problem, is, from the aspects we are called to consider, of a purely American character. We deal largely with American conditions, and our authority, as undefined a quantity as it may be, reaches no further than the shores of our country. Now, the Sabbath itself is nowhere else subject to interrogation. The German Conferences, quoted in my paper, discuss the means of preserving the Sabbath, not of changing it. There was considerable resentment, if I recollect well, against the Berlin congregation, ministered by Holdheim, for having instituted a Sunday Sabbath. Geiger's position, endorsed by nearly all the leaders of the German-Jewish thought, was, that there could be but one Sabbath, and that the means must be found to maintain it. A concerted movement on the part of the American Jewish Reformed Congregations, if such were possible, in favor of displacing the Sabbath, would still further apostrophize the radical differences of faith, practice and discipline, known to exist between us and our brethren, both in this country and abroad, and, from their standpoint, must necessarily be construed as a schismatic movement, which, as I stated in my paper, would tend to our estrangement from the fraternity of our people. For, whatever recognition we may yield to environment, where ritual and discipline are considered, the admission that our American environments have completely undone the Sabbath of Israel would be, in the popular mind, a warrant and excuse for still greater innovations, which, all together, would ultimately so change the character of our religion, that its modifications might be construed either as a concession to Christianity or as an independent movement, sectarian in that the historical elements of Judaism are eliminated; that is to say, a monotheistic-ethicultural movement, which, in due course of time, would be liberal enough to admit proselytes, and as regards its organization, would become a duplicate of the Paulinian movement of the first century. That might appear very fascinating to any one who does not think even liberalism has its bounds; to us such a

development should present many sources of apprehension. I write with the utmost respect and consideration towards any of our reverend colleagues, who hold different opinions, or who have expressed more radical tendencies in their congregational policy; but I cannot bring myself to view the incongruities here presented with any degree of equanimity, because I feel that we are teachers of Judaism, leaders of the Jewish people, and charged with the preservation of our faith, so far as its historical elements are concerned, as well as with preserving, as far as possible, the spiritual unity of the Jewish people. If I am mistaken in this assumption, let us speak the truth candidly. My own position in the matter is, that the Conference has not, and could not have, under its present constitution, any powers to legislate the Sabbath out of existence. I wish to engage in no specious reasoning why "a" Sabbath is better than "the" Sabbath. I wish to enter into no argument as to whether the Sabbath is of Divine origin or a mere expression of the social order. Our standpoint as teachers of Judaism, without the least dogmatic attitude, justifies the declaration that the Sabbath of the Decalogue is still the Sabbath, and that, as in the historical instance of declaring Sunday to be the day of rest for Christianity, it could only be changed as an authoritative expression of social conditions that existed long before. In passing, I may call your attention to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, sixteen centuries after the Nicæan Council, still retains the Sabbath of the decalogue on its calendar, denominating Sunday as the Lord's day, and still calling the seventh day "Sabbath." This historical consistency and the ethnological and metaphysical considerations centering in Sunday, should imbue us with the virtuous desire of maintaining our historical ground.

If, then, I am of the opinion that the Conference has not, and from the nature of its organization cannot have, jurisdiction to declare one or more of the historical institutions identified with the religion of Israel, as no longer existing, I do not, on the other hand, wish to convey the idea that we are utterly helpless, and can find no means of reaching our people with a view of ameliorating their spiritual conditions. On the contrary, I believe that the Conference can do much in that direction, particularly so if it will sturdily insist upon the maintenance of historical positions and conditions.

In that case the attachment and sympathy of the more conservative elements will be won, and many prejudices conquered, that now unhappily are sources of friction and unkindness. It has occurred to me, that no serious question affecting the spiritual future of our people in America will ever be solved if we remain on the low plane of organization we have hitherto occupied. Judaism, as you know full well, is above every dogmatic consideration, a discipline, designed to introduce the highest ethical standards into the activities of daily life. But a discipline in order to be effective, in order to insure recognition of its efficacy and integrity, needs the sanction and fostering hand of authority. A religious organization without a spiritual authority is inconceivable. I recognize that, whatever the discipline of the reformed synagogue may be, suffers from a want of definition of both its character and authority, and to this I am inclined to attribute much of the carelessness which has become such a notable characteristic of our religious policy. The Conference has no authority, even if its prayer-book has been received with general approbation. The hopeful side of the latter fact is, or was, that our people were anxious for religious, or rather ritual unity, and this hopeful sign still remains. But, despite this fact, the so-called autonomy of the congregations includes an unwarranted disposition to interfere with and circumscribe or curtail rabbinical functions. The Conference is by the congregations understood to be a body of individuals, who may meet, confer, decide and recommend, but who cannot legislate; and whose acts have no force whatever, except in so far as each congregation selects at will to abide by them. This may be a splendid demonstration of congregational autonomy, but it leads to confusion; it prevents unity, it encourages diversity of practice, and paralyzes the element so essential in the practice of Judaism—discipline. Now, I realize the dangers of religious authority. Like any of you, I have no stomach for the Popeship of any individual, nor for the fettering of private judgment, nor even for obstructing the justification for private conduct. The days of Shulchan Arukh discipline are past; but you must admit that there is many a stage between a concerted, unwieldy and unyielding authority, and religious anarchy. I am more afraid of the latter than of the former. I conceive the possibility of an authority that must be acceptable to our people. I have sketched it,

and find it by no means impractical or idealistic. It is, in effect, a scheme to identify the Conference of American Rabbis with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and by the co-ordinate action of both bodies strengthen the position of both. The details I cannot now give you. But I am unalterably convinced that even the Sabbath difficulties would yield to treatment were it once understood that there is a spiritual authority in American Israel, whose suggestions, because sanctified by the laity, would meet with general respect and recognition. This is the basis of No. 3 of my suggestions on page 121 of the Year-Book, which, with your permission, I will retain for myself for more specific and detailed consideration.

If there is any merit in the foregoing considerations, you will readily perceive that my suggestions, which are to be the basis of our present considerations, are one and all calculated to arouse the consciousness of the people regarding the Sabbath. For, even in my closest scrutiny of the problems in hand, I have not dared to hide from myself the fact that there are some factors of unrest with which we can deal and for the non-treatment of which, we are, to a great degree, responsible. Admitting the spiritual, economic and social problems that hedge around our Sabbath, there are issues which we can present and even force upon the consideration of the people. If the Sabbath is to remain, we can at least study how much of it can be vitalized. If Sabbath breaking is to be construed—as it really ought—as an act of the individual, then it is still possible for us to present the general view, and to insist upon the preservation of certain elements. Our duty is to find the correct ethical interpretations, as these prove economic difficulties. Can we find them? Then, again, Sabbath breaking in the stores does by no means imply its death at home. I believe that strong and unanimous suggestions on our part, as to authority, as to definition as to our position on the Sabbath, as to encouragement of services to be held when men can attend, as to the revitalization of the domestic practices of the Sabbath,—that these will do much towards restoring a moiety of the Sabbath, so long as it is our duty to stand on historical ground, so long as we admit that, as a Conference, we have no rights in the matter, and that a declaration of substitution is utterly inconsistent with both our functions and constitution.

I submit these considerations to you with great respect, with the

assurance that they are merely personal, and that your opinions will have the weight they deserve. I am anxious for a full and free discussion of the subject, out of which, so may it please God, we will be able to present to the Conference, some ideas which may assist our beloved people in the present grave difficulties. If we can accomplish more, it will indeed be a signal blessing on our labors.

As chairman of the commission, it is now my privilege to segregate the suggestions on pp. 120 and 121 of the Year-Book, with a view of their assignment to the respective members of the commission as follows:

Voorsanger	No. 3
Sale	No. 2
Heller	No. 6
Deutsch	No. 5
Sonneschein	No. 1
Harrison	No. 4
Enelow	No. 7

Tusting that I may hear from you at the earliest possible moment, and with the assurances of personal regards, believe me always,

Respectfully and fraternally yours,

JACOB VOORSANGER.

As a result of this communication an interesting and voluminous correspondence developed bearing upon an interpretation of the commission's activity and to what extent its opinions and recommendations might constitute a basis for ritual action. With one exception, that of Dr. Enelow, such members of the commission as participated in the correspondence agreed that every suggestion affecting the main question should rest upon an affirmative basis, that the Sabbath itself was not to be discussed, but only the problems which had been pointed out in Dr. Voorsanger's paper of last year. The methods of treatment suggested by several of the correspondents did not commend them for incorporation in an official report, and it is to be regretted, in addition, that several members of the commission entirely ignored the mandate of the Conference and did not even deign to reply to the chairman's communication.

With reference to Dr. Enelow, it is submitted that the learned Louisville Rabbi consented to contribute to the commission's report upon the express condition that he might review the entire question from his own point of view, and though the majority of the commission did not agree with Dr. Enelow's conclusions, the study he presented is so thoroughly meritorious that unanimous consent was given to its incorporation in this report. But as a result of this incorporation, the various parts of this report represent the opinion of the various authors rather than the consensus of the commission as a whole. In fact, it may well be questioned whether at the present time any unanimous opinion could be entertained upon any of the subjects the commission was instructed to study. Practically, this commission is not ready to report in full upon all the questions submitted for its consideration, partly because several of its members passively ignored their appointment, partly also because the questions under consideration are too far-reaching to be disposed of in so short a time; wherefore the commission has no recommendations to offer, but confines itself to a presentation of the studies of Rabbis Sonneschein, Voorsanger and Enelow as they are arranged below:

S. H. SONNESCHEIN.

Opinion rendered on Suggestion No. 1 in the schedule for the report of the Sabbath-Question Committee:

(Sec. 1.) "*This Conference should authorize an official statement regarding its position in the matter of the Sabbath.*"

A. Our Conference is a deliberative, academic body endowed with that qualitative and quantitative confidence of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which by all means gives us the authority to render a decision in all matters pertaining to a reconstruction of even the most fundamental religious ceremonial. There is no halacha למשיח which we may not approach with a view of a *modern* interpretation, wherever and whenever the Talmudic and Rabbinic decisions fundamentally clash with the VITAL demands of our all-absorbing 20th century American conditions of industrial, commercial and social life and public interest! (Confront Maimuni's Code חלוכת מומרים)

"רשות לכל בית דין בכל דור ודור לדון לפי מקום וזמן"

B. Even the *שבותה*-idea, by all means a *Mosaic* inhibition, has already, as far back as the 16th century, received a correction by no less an authority than Moses Isserles (see הלכות שבת רמח"ז) פ"ג הל' שבת ו' ל' שמות ו' ב' ב' כל מקום ישארם הולך לשוחה או לאות פני הבירוי חשוב הכל דבר מצוה וט' ב' נ' מהנו בקצת מקומות להקל (author of *צוהר לבניין*), a leading rabbi in Upper Hungary, 1826-1872, that in all such emergencies, where a *הפסד נרול* or some pressing public interests are at stake, any *מתקח וממכר* transaction may be, under certain cautionary rules, attended to on the Sabbath Day.

C. *That license of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries in those more or less primitive commercial days is certainly holding good for our 20th century life.* Our Central Conference surely! if, after due and reverential weighing of all points in controversy, they come to the conclusion to abolish the rabbinical inhibition of mere "business" transaction on the Sabbath (not involving an organic law, viz.: the קידושת הום) can go on and establish SUCH a license-system as is wanted in this era of the sharpest competition in the market of labor and capital, where the wireless sparks of rapid intelligence are concentrating and minimizing the vastest distances of time and space to a point where a continent becomes a mere speck of an island and a month's lapse is superseded by a small hour's rush . . .

D. That maxim "כח דחתירה עדיף" is incontrovertible! And in these our days, and in this country, where not alone "slavery," but even the idea of "the man servant and maid servant" is only a "doomed alien possibility, the Day of Rest stands for a higher ethical purpose than ever, and as long as the Conference will stand by the "SEVENTH Day," and not cast its lines to fish exclusively in the Sunday pond, we have not only the authority, but the DUTY to lighten the burden of the "Ghetto"-Sabbath, and to free the American Jew from the thraldom of a superannuated casuistry.

ויהי נעם ח' עליינו, אמן

NO. 3 BY VOORSANGER.

This Conference should define, if possible, the spiritual authority that guides and directs the religious practice of our people. The presentation of this question of definition of authority on the part

of last year's essayist (see page 121 of the Year-Book for 1902) indicates a presumably logical connection between the Sabbath problem and the necessity for defining the character of spiritual authority, and the latter's relation to the people. There has been resting in the proponent's mind a question whether Sabbath observance would not derive more strength from the peoples' better acquaintance with the sources whence religious practice receives its sanction and the authorities appointed to expound and direct it. This question, therefore, has a broader scope and involves important consideration of the subject of religious discipline, its definition, and also whether at the present time there exists or is needed any authority to give such discipline the requisite force and sanction that will enjoin observance on all who are willing to place themselves in the care of authority; hence, looking to a unity as well as uniformity of ritual practice to the extent that the latter may be needed.

Theoretically, the status of the rabbinate in its relations to the people has not changed. The rabbi's principal mission is, and has been, that of a popular guide, who by reason of his own intimate knowledge of the sources of authority interprets the moral and religious questions that affect the people, and, aided by precedent, tradition preserves the historical continuity of faith and transmits it to his disciples. The historical characteristics of this great rabbinical mission need not be considered here, except to say that the latter originated in a sage design to preserve the religious as well as the physical unity of the Jewish people at a time when all the elements of its sovereignty had become dissipated and the gravest danger existed of its ultimate absorption among the dominant nations of the period. The success and vindication of that mission constitutes the religious and literary history of the Jewish people from the time of the great masters of Jamnia until the present day. The rabbi has been the exponent of tradition, the interpreter of law, the ethical guide, the guardian of knowledge, teacher, author, judge, jurist, ritualist, an authority recognized by the people because of the same attributes that anciently distinguished the prophet whose worth, personal purity and wealth of spirit commanded him to the people rather than his capacity to engage in the external signs of prophecy. Rabbinical authority, at the time of Judaism's greatest peril, was of needs self-constituted, having at the first but the sanction of those

who engaged in its creation ; yet so absolutely necessary has it proved to be, because of the popular conscience that recognized its salutary and helpful functions, that, except in the single historical instance of sectarian revolt furnished by Karaism, there seems to have been no disposition to dispute the spiritual authority that undertook the great mission of guarding and preserving the faith.

These general statements, of course, do not include a study of the forms under which the rabbinate appeared from time to time, nor of the relations of individual rabbis or colleges of rabbis to each other. These subjects, greatly as they need discussion, would lead us too far away from the main discussion. Suffice it at the present, that much as the people of Israel have always respected and venerated the sources of their religious practices and unity, they have not always been patient under the rule of individuals or colleges who would give authority either an hierarchical or an autocratic form. Such forms do not commend themselves to democratic organizations, and we believe to be within the truth when we venture the general statement that already before the diaspora Jewish congregations were essentially democratic. We might notice, therefore, historical conflict which would have the tendency of teaching and advising us of the paramount necessity of maintaining forms of authority in consonance with the popular interpretation thereof, so that there be at no time, so far as possible, any confusion in the minds of the people between authority itself and the men who from generation to generation represent and expounded.

This, then, would lead to another important consideration, namely, that whilst theoretically the status of the rabbinate in its relation to the people has not changed, concretely, it has become very much modified. With particular reference to our American life and conditions, both social and legal, it may be submitted that many of the ancient historical functions of the rabbinate have entirely fallen away. We have not abolished them ; they have abolished themselves. That the American rabbi has no jurisdiction whatever in every function appropriated by political government since the gradual development of national, state and communal life is too self-evident to require explanation ; and it is only necessary to here once more punctuate the utter foolishness of giving rabbinical sanction to all legal proceedings, notably such as divorces, the finality of

which is determined by the operation and procedure of state law alone; in fact, the functions of the ecclesiastical lawyer, whether in *רִינֵי נְפָשׁוֹת* or *רִינֵי מְמֻנוֹת* as well, therefore, as the functions of ecclesiastical tribunals in all matters pertaining to civil and criminal law, have completely and, as far as we can see, permanently passed away; and whilst it is indisputably true that rabbinical authority or advice may have its due influence in the amicable settlement of actions at law by an appeal to rabbinical experience or a reverent investigation of precedents that can help to avoid litigation, it is nevertheless absolutely true that the rabbi's official connection with and authority in the law that determines political and civic relationship and responsibility is abrogated, we believe, for all time to come.

Another thing, however, is the rabbi's connection with all matters pertaining to education, ritual practice, discipline, religion and ethics. Whilst here too modifications could be noted, the general subject still remains the burden of rabbinical care. The modifications, let it be said at once, are important enough. All ritual practice and discipline must tend to fix and determine, not merely a general and common standard of religious interpretation, but primarily the ethical relationship of the individual towards the community of which he is a component part. To make that relationship as complete and effective as possible, it is essential to admit the expediency of harmonizing the standards of religious conduct as expounded by ritual practice with the spirit that speaks through the culture of the times. The American Jew has undertaken to appropriate unto himself a certain freedom of action in the matter of religious practice, for which our brethren who believe in the possibility of maintaining concrete and immutable rules of life and practice must find an explanation, and, if possible, justification in the freer and fuller life of the American communities from which, not for the fraction of a moment, the Jew thinks of dissociating himself, and in the remarkable application of the truths, the facts, and practical results of modern science to all the exigencies of social life. The American Jew, without dictation, direction or instruction, believes his private life, in so far as it is affected by no question of great moral principles, cannot be regulated by a law that stopped growing a long time ago, and therefore represents conditions that are distinctly out of harmony with his own time. We need not emphasize that this

freedom of action, purely a question of social evolution, is foolishly often maliciously attributed to the initiative of Reform Judaism; and, again, without attempting to interpret such preposterous nonsense, we need not advance any argument or facts to prove that reform Judaism derives its greatest efficacy from breasting the waves of evolution, when on the rise, and enable our people to pass on safely unto their future destiny. But whatever the reason, it remains true that in many issues of public, personal and domestic life, in sanitation, in diet, in the details of Sabbath observance, the American Jew has broken through the fetters of tradition, not because he is an enemy of tradition, nor because he covets the luxury of practically ignoring tradition, as do so many who frantically proclaim its efficacy from the housetops, but because, and only because, he lives his life in conformity with American ideas; because he realizes that Jewish life must progress with the widening of the environments in which he lives; and because he at least has the courage to publicly deny the efficacy or the concrete character of a traditional discipline that no longer harmonizes with the issues of his social life.

The question then presents itself: what remains of religion, what of ritual practice, what of discipline and what of the authority that maintains and transmits them? It is unfortunate indeed that no one at the present time is or can be competent to answer so grave and momentous a question in any definite manner. To be sure, we might answer in a general way that we entertain the greatest loyalty towards the truths and tenets of our faith; that we maintain their abiding strength; and that the greatest virtue of our religious organization lies in the ethical character of our teachings, whereby we aspire to lead our people to conform to those high moral standards which make Judaism the synonym of every constitutional effort to vindicate the inherent virtue of mankind. But the answer is not specific. It lacks definition and does not bring to the foreground with sufficient prominence either the distinct aims of Reform Judaism or an important interrogation whether Reform Judaism can live, thrive and grow without definite suggestions of religious discipline such as seal the historical constitution of Rabbinical Judaism. This interrogation seems most important, because it is most likely that this want of definition causes an almost widespread confusion

regarding the true functions of the rabbi. In most American congregations he is relegated to the mere subordinate position of a Levite; neither his character nor his attainments seem to make him worthy of a voice even in such matters where his opinion and judgment should determine the facts. This, too, may be due to an excess of democratic sentiment, but it emphasizes the necessity of defining, not merely the essential conditions of American Judaism, but the status of the authority that is supposed to govern and direct it. It is very possible, nay almost certain, that uniformity of religious practice sanctioned and authorized will never be popular in the American congregations, for uniformity is one of the foster-mothers of religious stagnation; but so much more in view of all that has been said must the spirit of unity among our people be fostered and promoted. We have, perhaps, in years past, put too much stress on the popularity of the public rituals in so far as they represented diversity of opinion and the individuality of their authors; and perhaps we have put too little stress on the great fact that Judaism, in whatever historical form it presents itself, must be more a discipline than an official system; more of a factor in character-building than a theology. The great need of our people at the present time is that of a strong and correct definition in what, aside from official service, charity and the natural manifestations of virtuous conduct, Judaism really consists. To punctuate the necessity for such a definition we need not travel beyond the environments of this great Sabbath question. Our people generally are adversely inclined to an official change of the day. Assuming for a moment that such a change, which is not and cannot be contemplated, would conduce to their spiritual contentment and the strengthening of religious ties, under what authority could each Jew sanction for himself so grave and radical a departure? To what precedent may he appeal? By what dicta will his proceeding be justified and protected? No individual rabbi can sanction the change. No Jewish congregation can presume to invest its Sunday service with the character of a Sabbath celebration. The question at issue eminently demonstrates the great need of our American congregations, namely, an authority to which all questions of discipline and religious practice may be deferred; an authority, democratic enough to be considered representative of the people and yet strong enough to be able to popularize and insure acceptance of its decrees and decisions. It is respect-

fully submitted that the chaotic state of our ritual practice and discipline will not materially change until such an authority has been properly defined. No religious organization, if we consult the experience of history, can permanently flourish without presenting its constitutional principles in a permanent and concrete form. American Judaism has no such permanent form at the present time; and until it has, the freedom with which many questions are interpreted, because it lacks the protecting voice of a collective authority, naturally appears as unwarranted and unsanctified. Under present conditions no rabbi has individually any authority. No congregation can legislate upon any question affecting the vital principles of Judaism as they are manifested in the life of individuals or communal bodies. And yet, here are questions which affect us collectively; and even this Conference, composed of the exponents of Jewish principles and the learned guardians of the tradition, has no power to legislate upon problems upon which much of the future of American Judaism seems to depend, or actually does depend. Is it then possible to create an authority that could competently treat every question by the successful solution of which the spiritual unity of American Judaism can be promoted?

In answer to this last question the following scheme of organization is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the commission and the Conference:

1. State Conferences to be organized, to be composed of the rabbi and president of each congregation within the State and three delegates at large from each congregation. Such State Conference will have opportunity for treating and discussing all matters pertaining to local and communal administration.

2. At a certain time during each year each State Conference shall elect five delegates, composed of two rabbis and three laymen, to a National Conference which, according to the present number of States and Territories, would at the present time count two hundred and twenty-five delegates, composed of three-fifths laity and two-fifths clergy. This National Conference, or whatever its designation may be hereafter, shall immediately upon its convocation and organization divide into two bodies, one to be known as the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the other representing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The first body shall discuss and

pass upon all matters pertaining to religion and discipline, the second shall concern itself with all matters pertaining to education and administration; but both bodies shall submit their conclusions to a ratifying discussion and vote of the joint organization.

3. This National Conference shall elect an Executive Council of fifteen, composed of nine laymen and six rabbis, which shall represent it during adjournment and constitute the actual center of all religious and administrative unity of American Jewish Congregations.

4. The National Conference, when organized, shall invite all national Jewish organizations of whatever description to affiliate and meet concurrently with it, so that, without disturbing the autonomy of any one of them, they may all report to one central agency, and so promote the national unity of Jewish communal life.

5. The appointment of a committee of five to carry this plan into effect is herewith requested.

RABBI H. G. ENELOW.

I.

The student of the history of Reform Judaism can find no better illustration of how fast we have moved away from the older phases of our religion than is offered by the treatment of the Sabbath question. In 1846, the year of the Breslau Conference, this question was already grave enough to engage the best part of the attention of the assembled rabbis. At that time, it may be said, the Jews were still tyros in Western civilization; but two or three decades had passed since they had been admitted to a full and unhampered participation in the industrial and intellectual life of their respective countries; the generation was still living that had been cradled in ghettos; yet, even then the conflict between the Sabbath and the life of the people was felt deeply, and doctors were summoned and implored to heal the breach. The discussions of the Breslau Conference, attended by some of the foremost leaders of the new movement, are ample testimony to the anxiety of that age concerning the Sabbath. The trouble was clear: the popular consciousness and conscience craved for a retention of the old feast, but the new life—

come so suddenly and so heartily embraced—said nay, said it was impossible. It was a crossing of roads. It was an unmistakable disagreement. Good people felt that something must be done to effect a harmony, to pick the road or make a new one. They must satisfy conscience, but also cling to the new treasures: "It is good that thou shouldest take hold of this, yea, also from that withdraw not thine hand."

Interesting, not to say curious, seem to us the Breslau arguments. As for the majority, the only service they may render the student to-day is by showing how strong at the time the hold of the old rabbinic religion was still upon the people and its leaders. Conservatism was in the bones of all and the very weapon used against conservatism was conservatism. Every speaker well-nigh sought in all earnestness for means of reconciling the talmudic ordinances with the feasibilities of modern life, and there was a flow of speech on the various species of labor—in good pilpulistic fashion—and on the delicate shadings of Biblical expression in regard to the Sabbath, and as to what constituted toil, and in how far the Sabbath might be broken by proxy, and such like. To the reader of to-day it all looks like an attempt to get rid of an old friend without open offence. The true nature of the malady and the ultimate, if not immediate, necessity of a surgical operation may have been apparent to some, but none save Holdheim had the courage to declare it. Geiger, however, whose radicalism was ever tempered and cautioned by his noble scholarship, was bold and honest enough to rend the cobweb of futile casuistry with which the problem had been vailed throughout the session, and to intimate that so vital a question could not be disposed of by thimble-rigging. Finally, commenting, in the capacity of president, upon the work of the Conference anent the Sabbath, he said: "We all know that we have effected no perfect reconciliation (between the Sabbath and the new life), that we are but preparing the way for the future and must leave it to the power of pure and re-invigorated Judaism and of history, which also is a revelation of Divine Providence, to bring about a complete adjustment. Yet, by the very opening of the path, by emphasizing the eternal and essential and discarding the effete and useless, the fermentative process is accelerated, and the maladies of the age are put in the way of a speedy healing."

II.

Over half a century has gone by since those words were spoken. What to Geiger was the future has not succeeded in solving the Sabbath problem. American Judaism as it is to-day, if Geiger had foreseen it, he might have called the distant future. In this free country the development of the old religion has gone on at gigantic strides. The reason is plain: none of the forces of resistance in the new world have been as hard as in Europe. American orthodoxy is radicalism from the European standpoint. Meanwhile, those circumstances of life which in 1846 had made the Sabbath question the leading Jewish problem, have become much more numerous and complex. The American Jew, to state the case in a word, has entered into the life of the American nation with his whole heart and soul, and has become a participant and factor in all economic and spiritual movements; moreover, he has no ideal save that of continuing to occupy such a position in our national life, and to strengthen it according to his powers. This fact has become altogether undebatable, except on the part of Zionists, who, however, may hardly be called adherents of Reform Judaism as we understand it. Equally certain is the fact that the breach between the old Sabbath and modern American life is even sharper than that which existed between the Sabbath and the life of the Jews of Germany fifty years ago. Without exaggeration may it be stated that observance of the Saturday-Sabbath cannot possibly be coupled with a complete participation in the economic and intellectual life of the American nation. And without anticipating my argument, I may add, that from the talmudic standpoint, which extended the prohibition of work on the Sabbath even to "the contemplation of work," there is to-day but a handful of Jews in this country, if any, that are not Sabbath breakers.

Moreover—and in this we have another sign of the quick mobility of our religious life—the feeling of the sanctity of the day has all but vanished from the consciousness of the masses. The violation of the Sabbath among us is not accompanied by the old qualms of conscience, and the rabbis are not asked for ointment to soothe the wounds of the Jewish heart. We are no longer implored to determine the nature of the forms of labor permissible on the sacred day,

as were the rabbis of 1846. All of us know that in spite of all the suggestions and measures and methods adopted since that year, the observance of the Sabbath amidst Western civilization has grown ever worse and worse. Neither Sabbath Unions, nor Friday night services, nor Saturday afternoon addresses, nor family reunions, any more than the several other expedients, have succeeded in making the Sabbath victor in its battle with the life of the Western world. As far as the solution of the problem is concerned, we stand to-day at exactly the same point occupied by the men convened at Breslau. If honest and wide-awake, we must admit that the Sabbath cannot be genuinely observed under modern conditions by men eager to take part in the worlds' work. Therefore, in order to avoid hollow ceremonialism and the imputations of indifference or hypocrisy, we must define our position in this matter, seeking to ascertain the real purpose of the Sabbath and the possibility of its preservation in the modern environment as an integral part of progressive Judaism.

III.

As for myself, I feel that Geiger and Holdheim have given utterance to the principles that should guide us in the formation of our judgment on this question, and though I had thought out the subject long before the records of the Breslau Conference came into my possession, which happened but recently, I shall henceforth in this paper take the privilege of referring to them, particularly to Holdheim, as occasion may serve, not only because of my reverence for them as pioneers and prophets of Reformed Judaism, but more especially because their views seem the only ones truly conducive to a permanent solution of the problem. Moreover, as I believe in the evolutional character of Judaism, it is my custom, in the study of Jewish problems, to attach at least as much weight to the opinions of our eminent rabbis of recent times as to those of our remote predecessors in obscure and far-off lands. Now, I do not know whether Geiger ever agreed with Holdheim in the open advocacy of the postponement of the Sabbath to Sunday; in his résumé of the proceedings, otherwise a model of comprehensiveness, he strangely overlooks Holdheim's address, but they concurred in the interpretation of the principles underlying the ancient institution, and in

such a question the correct understanding of basic principles is all-important, and the best and only legitimate preparation for its proper solution. Withal, for Reform Jews to seek to solve a vital religious problem by mere reference to the sentiments and tradition of centuries or of the masses, without a deeper consideration of the ultimate principles and historic values involved—a mode of procedure many have followed in relation to the Sabbath question—to me seems utterly anomalous and a belying of the very cardinal doctrines of Reform Judaism.

IV.

Quite natural it is that we should try to study the origin and the history of the Sabbath, as we are asked to cure its diseases. A religious institution in this respect resembles an organ of the body: as long as it enjoys normal health and fulfills its functions, none worries particularly about its beginnings and growth, and its relation to the rest of the organism. But when distemper has settled upon it and has begun to jeopardize not only its own preservation, but also the life of the whole constitution, minute study of the history and the purpose of the organ in question becomes necessary. Thus, our verdict upon the present uses and needs and treatment of the Sabbath rightly should be preceded by a thorough comprehension of its nature in earlier times and its gradual development in the history of Israel.

In this place I have no room for a full consideration of the subject; but a brief sketch of it is essential to an understanding of my position.

Concerning the earliest character of the Sabbath in Israel, unfortunately, we have but the vaguest records. Our knowledge thereof is purely illative. Without entering into a discussion, I must say, that I accept the view of those students of Israel's antiquities who look upon the Sabbath as originally one of the regular religious feasts, akin to the new moon and the great agricultural feasts. Periodic days of worship and rejoicing before God were natural to a society such as Israel constituted in early times. Those conversant with the results of historic criticisms have a picture of the manner in which those regular feasts were celebrated, and an idea of the motives of spontaneous religiousness that prompted them. Joy and

worship, according to the conception of those times, gave the keynote to the observance. Those were the days on which the Word of God particularly was sought. That the Sabbath originally belonged to that species of feasts is one of the deductions of historic criticism, but we have diverse intimations of it in the Bible, notably *Exodus*, xxxiv, 18 ff.; *II Kings*, iv, 23; *Amos*, viii, 5; *Hosea*, ii, 13; *Isaiah*, i, 13. During the period of the earlier prophets, as all these citations convince us, the Sabbath played a rôle in Israelitish society similar to the other periodic feasts, and the religious purpose of all was identical. The celebrations, as we know, took place at home, although as a special mark of religiousness, or under unusual circumstances, one may have undertaken a pilgrimage to the man of God living in the vicinity (*II Kings*, iv, 23). As long as the Sabbath belonged to that class of spontaneous periodic religious feasts, its place in the economy of an agricultural state was natural, and required no explanation.

The first authentic attempt at *an explanation of the origin* of the Sabbath that we find in the Bible, is contained in the Deuteronomic Decalogue (*Dt.* v). There we find the Sabbath represented as a day of rest from all labor, to be observed by every man and his entire household, man and beast alike, while the observance itself also was to serve, after the characteristic Deuteronomic fashion, as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt. When we recall the entire nature of the reform movement under Josiah, of which *Deuteronomy* was both the manual and the mirror, we shall see how perfectly natural, from the contemporary standpoint, such an interpretation of the Sabbath was. The purpose of the Deuteronomic reform, in brief, was this: to centralize the worship at Jerusalem and as a consequence to secularize all those local observances that formerly partook of a religious character. To pause upon the beneficial and also the injurious sides of that memorable movement is neither here nor there; we know that this is what occurred at that particular juncture of Israel's history, and that from that standpoint the feasts, the sacrifices, the sanctuaries, the courts of justice, and every other social institution were re-shaped. The Sabbath did not escape the common fate, and henceforth—since weekly pilgrimages to the central place of worship were impossible—it

assumed principally a secular aspect, namely, cessation from all forms of labor, the very act of resting being regarded as the fulfilment of its observance in its capacity as a memorial of an olden Divine miracle, the deliverance from Egypt. Such a recasting of the Sabbath comported entirely with the Deuteronomic tendency, which was, as I have said, and for certain well-known reasons, to minimize as far as possible local worship, to have all religious services performed at the central sanctuary, and to establish all surviving local institutions upon an historic and humanitarian basis.

In the development of Israel's history it was quite logical that those institutions which the reform movement of the seventh century had not taken from the individual Israelite should become the most precious and paramount marks of the people's distinction. Particularly, when the Temple fell, and with it all those ceremonies and observances which had grown interwoven with it, and Israel went into exile, was it natural that those institutions not involved in the ruin of the central sanctuary should gain an especial pre-eminence, and become the distinguishing marks of a community bent upon the preservation of the national integrity. Thus, we find that during the Babylonian captivity the Sabbath, along with other ceremonies, became an emblem in the eyes of Israel, a sign of God's covenant with the people for all generations, a leading symbol of the Israelitish community (*Isaiah vi, lviii*). But the effect of the Deuteronomic reform was plainly discernible in the manner of its observance. The main requirement still was cessation from ordinary work (*Jer. xvii, 19-27; Ezek. xx, 12; xxii, 8; xxiii, 38; Is. ibid.*). Yet, it need not surprise us if we find the philosophy of the old institution altered according to the demands of the new environment. Judaism again and again has read into its old institutions messages for new times. And thus in Babylon the Sabbath was made the symbol of one of those leading ideas by which the Israelites differed radically from their captors, namely, the idea of the creation. Just as in Deuteronomic times it had served the humanitarian and historic purposes of the religious leaders, so now it became a weapon in the hands of those prophets and thinkers of Israel whose great end was to combat the Chaldean cosmogony. Naught is clearer than the continual effort of the

Second Isaiah along this line, and similarly indubitable is it that from that day the idea of the Sabbath as a memorial of the six-day creation was introduced into Judaism. But, as at the same time the Sabbath had likewise begun to serve as one of the symbols of Israel's covenant with God, and as the prophetic doctrine of the creation became part and parcel of Israel's religious system, it is easy to realize why thenceforth a combination of the two motives should be frequent in Biblical literature; the Sabbath as an emblem both of the creation and the covenant with Israel (cp. *Is. loc. cit.*: *Gen.* ii, 2-3; *Ex. xx. 8-11*; *xxxii. 17*).

If anything, however, profited by this new philosophy, it was the idea of rest as constituting the leading feature in the observance of the Sabbath. The development of this idea is very interesting: in the early unsophisticated days, no doubt, as much cessation from labor entered into the keeping of the day as suggested itself naturally on an agricultural religious feast; in Deuteronomic times, however, cessation from toil was enjoined as a humanitarian industrial measure; at length, in the Babylonian age, as the Sabbath became a symbol *par excellence*, particularly a symbol of Divine rest at the completion of creation, the idea of rest in itself became the ruling idea of the day. Under the sway of that idea it was that the disposition toward the Sabbath continued to develop as a day on which the least, even the most trivial, forms of labor must be absolutely forbidden. Nehemiah's attitude is an illustration, and many an injunction in the Pentateuch an expression, of that ever-strengthening spirit. Rest, as absolute as possible, became the concept of Sabbath observance, reflected in *Exodus* xvi, 29; "See, for the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore He giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day."

Holdheim properly reminds us that talmudic and philosophic Judaism, on the whole, continued to develop this symbolic side of the Sabbath idea, making rest in itself a matter of gravest significance, and its strict observance a self-sufficient fulfilment of maybe the foremost Jewish duty. In consonance with the thought emphasized, not to say inaugurated, in Babylon, resting on the Sabbath

became the symbol of a belief in *Hiddush ha-'Olam*, the creation of the world by the eternal God, and both talmudic and later masters did not hesitate to declare that the non-observance of the Sabbath was tantamount to apostasy from Judaism, as it implied a denial of the Divine creation of the world. This gave rise to the dictum: *Ha-Shabbath shequla keneged kol ha-Mitzwoth shebbat-tora* (cp. *Mekhilta*, *Ex.* xx. 16; *T. B. Hullin*, 5a; *Kuzari*, ii, 50; Nahmanides on the Decalogue; etc.).

That such emphasis upon rest as a chief requisite of Sabbath observance could not but be baneful to the religious import of the day, must be apparent. Whatever high and grave spiritual connotation this idea may have possessed originally, it was natural that the ages should obscure and the multitude forget. Cessation from labor in itself, religiously considered, is at best but a negative merit. If the Sabbath is to have any positive religious value, such as we believe it possessed originally among the Israelites, the discontinuance of labor must be attended by some actual religious exercise. The Bible contains no specific injunctions relating to such, unless it be the special Sabbath sacrifice at the Temple. And yet we have good cause to surmise that even in prophetic times the Sabbath, as well as other feasts, was utilized by the religious leaders as an occasion for the delivery of God's word before the men assembled in the sanctuary. Moreover, in Babylon the attachment to the ancient writings, which grew up simultaneously with the new ideas of the Sabbath, cannot but have employed the day of rest for its own ends, devoting the time taken from ordinary labor to the study and contemplation of the people's spiritual heritage. We do know that in Talmudic times, though abstaining from labor on the Sabbath was looked upon as the basic principle of the day, the consciousness that some actual religious act must complement the observance of the day, grew sufficiently strong to inspire the following utterance: "The Sabbaths and feasts were given to Israel to no other end save the study of Torah" (*T. B. Betza*, 15; cp. *T. Y. Meg.* 4, 1). In other words, active engagement in some work of religious merit must fill out the industrial emptiness of the day. Idling away the Sabbath meant not to keep it truly, meant to lose it. It may be seen at once that such an interpretation of the

holy day was a radical departure from the conception of the all-sufficiency of rest as a symbol; that it really signalized a reversion to the original meaning of the day as a time of worship and ethical upliftment. But, though this rejuvenated idea tended to accentuate ever more and more the need of true religious employment, such as prayer and study, on the Sabbath, rendering the act of resting a mere preparation to its observance, it still remained a habit among Jewish teachers to assert that the very violation of the principle of resting on the Sabbath was like the breaking of all the tenets of Judaism.

v.

Now, the question suggesting itself most legitimately at this juncture, I think, is: Where do we stand? What is our theoretic, our philosophic attitude toward the Sabbath? Such a question, I submit, would be unnecessary under other circumstances; if the Sabbath were suffering from no ailment, it would be needless to philosophize about it. But as its health is altogether too precarious and we are seeking to prescribe for it, the imperativeness of defining our attitude toward it is obvious; upon that attitude must depend our decision as to whether we shall continue to fool about with homeopathic capsules, or whether the surgeon's knife shall be requisitioned, or whether we shall simply permit our patient slowly but surely to die away. The question leads us back to the old discussion, dwelt upon at length at the Breslau Conference, as to whether the Sabbath is a symbol or an institution. As for myself, I believe it no injustice to the spirit of modern Judaism to assert that it looks upon the Sabbath primarily not as a symbol, but as a religious institution. Primarily, for personally I am not averse to the symbolic impregnation of our religious institutions; I can perceive a world of beauty in the Deuteronomic symbolization of the Sabbath, as well as in the spiritual embellishment it received in Babylon, or at the hands of the Midrashic rabbis, or of the later mystics, or even from Dr. Holdheim. But we must bear in mind that such symbolic construction of the Sabbath has varied throughout the history of Judaism, and according to the dispositions of the diverse ages; to the Deuteronomist it was an emblem of redemption and the Divine pattern of mercy; to the disciples of the Baby-

Ionian masters a symbol of the Creation and the Covenant; to the mystics of Cordovero's stamp it was the root of the week, as the new moon is the root of the month, and so forth; and even Holdheim, when constrained to elucidate the Biblical statement that the Sabbath was the day on which God rested from His labors, sees in it the beautiful symbol of the difference between the moving, transient, fluctuating world and the eternally steadfast Creator. No doubt, our age also has in store a host of spiritual thoughts with which it might enrich the Sabbath, as it has enriched all other Jewish feasts still observed. But, surely, ere we can call a thing the symbol of our inward soul, we must have the thing. And the present age, I believe, will not be content with subscribing to the Sabbath as a merely anonymous symbol, having no actual connection with the religious consciousness of the subscriber—a sort of impersonal idea afloat in the atmosphere, detached from the world of realities. This may be good mysticism, or idealism, but it cannot form part of a working religion. Reform Judaism, I take it, believes in the Sabbath primarily as a religious institution, an institution, that is, by which the moral and spiritual nature of its devotees might be strengthened, purified, and exalted. Naught save this conception of the Sabbath can I detect in our modern religious literature, in our prayer-book, and in the popular consciousness as far as I can decipher it. We may infuse into the character of the day as large a multitude of symbols and lessons as is at our command, we may spiritualize the institution to our heart's content, provided we possess it. If, however, for some reason or other, we do not, or have ceased to, possess the institution, it were idle to continue to talk about its religious value and symbolism. Then it becomes incumbent upon us either to seek a way of again possessing ourselves of it, in a true and unmistakable sense, or to look out for other methods of fortifying our religious life; in a word, either the Sabbath must be regained in its genuine strength, or it must be declared unessential to the continuance of Judaism.

VI.

None will ask me to retread the old ground, and to show how altogether impossible it has grown for the Jews living amidst West-

ern civilization to observe the Saturday Sabbath. In order to observe the Sabbath according to the comprehension of Reform Judaism, that is, by worship in its best sense, by devotion to the higher interests of life, we must have rest, cessation from the daily routine of commerce and industry. The impossibility of this under modern circumstances has been not only described in learned papers and eloquent discourses, but also demonstrated by the life of the people. All the arguments thinkable have failed, and will fail, to lure the Jews of the Western countries away from their industries on Saturday and to cause them to consecrate the day to religion. I regard it as altogether beneath the level of my argument to speak here of the possibility of having large congregations, or audiences, on Saturday. Even if such a thing were possible, large audiences in any one synagogue would not constitute a Sabbath-observing Israel. To those that treat the Sabbath as a sentimental or mystic symbol, that might suffice; but those to whom it is nought save an institution for the hallowing of Jewish life, it can mean nothing as long as well-nigh the entire working, productive, creative part of Israel are by the very most sacred necessities of life prevented from keeping it. Weep and mourn and quibble as we may, the old Sabbath is gone; Saturday, for the Jew as for the rest of our citizens, is a work-day. It were idle to try to prove this; the burden of proof rests upon those denying it. Not wilfully has the Jew sacrificed the ancient holiday; it has not been, as in our pessimistic moments we are apt to imagine, the immolation of an ideal upon the altar of Mammon; it has been the natural result of changed circumstances and a new mode of life. As long as Israel lived in ghettos, isolated, it was possible for him to hallow any day of his choice; as long as the rabbinic dictum held good that the people of Israel might find a livelihood among themselves—*Amkha Yisrael tzerikhim parnasa, lekhu we-hisparnesu ze misse* (T. B. Berak. 3). But the destruction of the ghetto walls brought with it a great change, and the end of industrial and political (and to some extent, social) isolation, has made it impossible for the Jew to continue to isolate himself in the observance of the weekly day of rest. And the transition, in this regard, has been unattended by any excessive violence to the popular conscience, simply because it presented itself as a vital neces-

sity. Participation in the full life of Western civilization rendered the yielding of Saturday to industry and commerce, one might say, compulsory. In order to become industrially independent, the modern Jew has been obliged to sacrifice the old Sabbath, and I can see no way in which, things remaining equal, the present or the future might possibly save or revive it, without detriment to the life of the people.

On the other hand, none will deny that we need the Sabbath as a religious institution for the furtherance and the fortifying of our religious consciousness. More than ever the Jew to-day, amid the strenuous conditions and secular influences of life, requires a day consecrated to those higher purposes which form the mission of Judaism. Without worship and instruction and continual buoying, the Jew is doomed to spiritual decay, to say nothing of the damage to the cause of Judaism itself, resulting from its habitual neglect on the part of its professors. This perception of the unescapable need of the Sabbath it is that these many years has caused the leaders of Israel to occupy themselves with the question as to how the old Sabbath might be—well, might be preserved. But the unbiased observer will admit that all the tireless efforts of our good physicians have not availed to restore the health of the invalid; the numerous drugs have done no good, though they have varied all the way from the simple old domestic weeds to the most sensational concoctions of the modern quack. There is no balm in Gilead. So, unless, as physicians will do in extremes, we conspire to stand tacitly by while our patient is giving up the ghost, we must use that only method which holds forth the promise of improvement, and maybe of complete restoration to health; namely, surgery, transfer of the Sabbath to a day on which at least those causes which stand in the way of the Saturday observance, that is, the economic hindrances, would not exist.

VII.

This is the only solution of the problem, it seems to me, if, indeed, we decide that a Sabbath is essential to our purpose, and that the Sabbath must serve, as it did in the beginning, as a day of worship and religious edification, and that it must be adjusted to the life

of the modern Jews, especially of those that never again expect to live in a ghetto or a separate Jewish state. I am aware that the suggestion of such a radical measure is received with ejaculations of awe and derision by a great many, particularly by the untrained masses, and the amateur journalists, and the host of *batlanim* (to use a talmudic word) who deem themselves the pre-ordained moulders of Judaism, though they may never have turned the leaf of a Jewish book, or inquired into the meaning of a Jewish institution. But the proposal must be entertained very seriously, though cautiously, by all such as have a more intimate acquaintance with Judaism and its development. Such men know that Judaism is greater than all the ceremonies and observances and institutions it has ever sheltered, including the Sabbath. Such men must agree with Geiger that "the Sabbath to us is of high significance, yet it is none the less but one, albeit a very important institution of Judaism, while Judaism itself, its spiritual development and the elevation of its devotees, we look upon as even higher."

Judaism above all is founded upon spiritual ideas. It has had to express itself among men now by doctrine, and now in the guise of ceremony, and now through institutions. But at all times the idea was superior to the form of its expression. The student knows this to be the position the prophets took: how many ceremonies and institutions did not the Hebrews borrow from the Canaanites, whose whole mode of life and the greater part of whose mode of worship we have good cause to believe they adopted! Yet, the prophets minded not the existence of any form or ceremony, if only the idea underlying it were consecrated to the God of Israel, and not to the Baalim; not how or when or where the people fasted or feasted or sacrificed concerned the prophets, but in whose honor, Yahve's or Baal's. In other words, the purpose of a religious institution, not the institution itself, from the prophetic viewpoint, is paramount. As the old sage has it: "Not the Sabbath shalt thou fear, but Him in whose honor the Sabbath was instituted." (*Lo min ha-shabbath ata mithyare ella mimmi shepokad 'al ha-shabbath.—Siphra, Lev. xix, 30.*)

The history of Judaism reveals the fact that many an institution erstwhile deemed inviolable, has been dead for thousands of years, owing to the stress of conditions, and yet Judaism lives. The Sab-

batic year, for example, enjoined in the Bible in the same breath with the Sabbath (*Ex. xxiii, 10*), our forefathers abolished when changed environment made its observance impractical. Similarly, many another institution Judaism has again and again adopted or abandoned or reshaped in harmony with the needs of ever-changing times; but itself has survived. Why, then, should not we be entitled to treat our religious institutions as former generations did, necessity constraining us? Or must we forever remain slaves to the customs of the past, even where they unmistakably serve to undermine our religious constitution, without, however, enjoying that initiative and that spirit of adjustment which have distinguished and vitalized Judaism at all times? What is the whole history of our religion if not an infinite series of adjustments to new circumstances and new forms for the sake of the triumph of the cardinal ideas? The feast of Passover, Holdheim reminds us, in the religion of ancient Israel held as sacred a place as the Sabbath, its non-observance entailing the same severe punishment as the desecration of the Sabbath. Its celebration was strictly enjoined on the fourteenth day of the first month. Yet, in *Numbers ix* we read that all such as were unclean or away from home on the appointed day were permitted to observe the feast a month later. Here we have a clear case of postponement even in the early days of Judaism. "That the obstacle in the case of the Passover lay in ritual uncleanness or absence from the community," Holdheim adds justly, "while in the case of our Sabbath it lies in the unadjustable conflict with the circumstances of civil life, makes no difference as far as the principle and the spirit are concerned. The point is that the religious end of the Passover could be reached, in the case of those prevented from keeping the original day, by means of the postponed observance, just as the religious end of the Sabbath may be reached on another day. It is a delusion to imagine or to fear that the preservation of Judaism is conditioned on ceremonial outwardness. We want to save the Sabbath for Judaism, and Judaism through the Sabbath, even though the old symbolic veil must be yielded to the past."

VIII.

This, to conclude, is my attitude toward our complex problem. I cannot dismiss the conviction that the Sabbath question ought to

be considered by us not from a petty, parochial standpoint, but from the point of view of the unbiased historian and reformer, of the honest healer of religious evils. We should not hesitate to express the demands of our religious consciousness. We have as good a right, I hold, to be heard on our spiritual needs and institutions, as our forefathers. Better to speak our mind on this theme, though it bring us into some conflict with former times or present multitudes, than to glaze difficulties with indifference or hypocrisy. Candor in such matters is a sacred duty. Here the rabbinic word applies: "Whoever knows a thing and will not speak it, the ban shall fall upon him and consume him and his beams and stones" (*Kol mi sheyodea dabhar we-eno maggido ha-herem ba olaw u-mekhale otho we-eth etzaw we-abhanaw*). Our entire religious structure may be imperiled by the policy of silence and concealment. We need a Sabbath as a religious institution, not as a symbol of this or that; the old Saturday Sabbath, good in its own time and place, has come to the end of its rôle among us; however, the Sabbath idea still has a hold upon our minds. Let us fasten that hold ere it is too late, ere not only the old institution but also the idea has passed away. And the only way we seem to have to strengthen and perpetuate the *idea* is by infusing it into a modern institution, into our civil day of rest, by making the latter the bearer of our message, the occasion of our public worship and instruction.

Some appear to think that the integrity of the Jewish community would be impaired if some of us transferred the Sabbath to a day on which observance is possible, while others continue to adhere to the old day. As for myself, I believe there is greater cohesive power in genuine fidelity to an idea than in the worse than half-hearted maintenance of an obsolete institution. Even if the Sabbath were to serve above all as a symbol of Israel's unity, I should feel more closely related to a number of Jews, wherever they dwelt, observing a true Sabbath any day of the week, than to such as cling to the Saturday Sabbath in no way save by word of mouth.

Let me close with Holdheim's words: "I regard those reasons only which spring from an interest in the continuation and the development of Judaism as a religion of inwardness and morality, as fit to be mentioned in this vital question; and I scorn to speak of

any others, as all such must either harmonize with the former or die away soundless. These reasons, however, to a degree are of an altogether subjective nature and must be uttered as such. If that portion of Jewry that observe the old Sabbath protest against a transfer, they are in the right, for to them their religion is not in any peril, seeing that the Sabbath among them has proven itself victor in the battle of life. Wherever religion is not jeopardized any interference would be a sin, like the abuse of weapons. But if those Jews by their protest mean also to prevent the postponement of the Sabbath on the part of the large portion of Jewry who, as a matter of fact, no longer observe the Sabbath, and among whom therefore it has suffered defeat in the struggle with daily life, they are in the wrong. For here we have war and danger indeed, and for the sake of the preservation of the religion, energetic measures are necessary. These latter Jews thus far have but the negative side of the transfer: the non-observance of the historic Sabbath. We must give them the positive side also, if we would not have them grow estranged entirely from their religion."

The commission, confident that a further study of the questions involved in this report will conduce to the spiritual advancement of our people, now relegates the subject to the wise consideration of the Conference.

Fraternally submitted,

JACOB VOORSANGER, *Chairman.*

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

PEDAGOGIC METHODS IN THE SABBATH SCHOOL.

By RABBI LOUIS GROSSMANN.

Let me state the difference between Jewish and Christian Sabbath Schools. Christian Sabbath School work is a form of Christian worship and aims at conversion. Jewish education aims to train character and to recruit youth into conscious membership in the community of Israel. The Christian school is an agency of sectarian interests, in accordance with the prescribed creed, and elicits, as its best achievement, a confession of faith. We, however, do not desire a confession of either sinfulness or faith from children; nor are we anxious about any possible depletion of our ranks. We do not content ourselves with obtaining from childhood verbal assent to articles of belief, and we do not trust the sentimental piety which is sedulously cultivated by Christians. We lay foundations for an independent soul-life, and are certain that, after all, that is the best guarantee of religious soundness and of a respectable loyalty.

But it is not by way of contrast alone that I wish to define the character of the Jewish Sabbath School. It has a positive quality which is not made obvious by mere contrast. I speak of that only because some misapprehension has arisen amongst us, through the fact that we owe our present Sunday School system to Christian example. The first Jewish Sabbath School, almost in our day, was, indeed, patterned after Christian prototypes, but we are by no means now constrained to follow Christian aims. In these we must part company. We had congregational schools long before any one else, and we were surely busy in the teaching of religion all through our history. We may, therefore, safely say our imitation of the Christian Sabbath School was not due to any poverty on our part in educational experience, but rather to the fact that the form, as represented by the conventional type of the modern Sunday

School, was quite practicable. But we have a conception of our own in this matter of teaching. The genius of Judaism does not express itself in catechism, however true, nor in its literature, though that is classical. It rests in facts which are as yet not altogether explained and are neither academic subjects of a course of study nor amenable to merely pious edification.

We must challenge the current notion that we are doing something constructive in Sabbath School instruction. For we are not doing anything of the sort. Jews have been fed, throughout the eventful centuries, on more substantial food, and there have been more pervasive influences in Jewish life than even the best formal instruction can ever be. We believe in education and culture, but we believe in a culture that goes out of the heart of the life of the community into the heart of man, and we believe also that theological instruction as the sects now give it, and we Jews imitate, does not touch the real side of life. We must establish a soul-force in the heart of each successive generation and nothing else will do. We are complaining of indifference on the part of such as have avowed convictions in other directions. Has it occurred to us, that indifference may be chargeable to faulty instruction and to our failure as teachers? That indifference and skepticism obtain will not surprise those who remember the pathetic fact that the great historic currents of our life have been forced within the last fifty years into the thin rivulet of the Sabbath School. Catechism and moralizing and text-books do not go deep into children's souls and can never transmute into the power that made the Jewish people.

The believers in parochial schools are more logical. They believe in an all-around religious training and that is a very effective influence. Either discipline is religious, every part and the whole spirit of it, or else religion is subordinate and merely incidental to education. We want to develop a unified character, if we do, then, we must set up Judaism at its center. And unless we are much mistaken about religion, that central place is its right place, and it has been removed from it not because it has lost its title, but for reasons of opportunism. The public schools too are approaching this conception, but they are arrested whenever they attempt to apply it. The aim of secular instruction is to establish healthy

character and the subjects have a place in the course of study for sake of the educational force that inheres in them. But to relegate instruction in religion to a place amongst the rest is to concede, that it contributes only a modicum to development but does not control it; that it has educational merit only by way of contribution, but not as an authority. So it has come, that children's education is split up into secular and sacred and that at the door of life already they are made to feel a double-sidedness which no number of later years can quite reconcile. So also it has come, that the public school fails in the very thing for which it is meant, and that the religious school is a makeshift which cannot unmake the mistake or compensate for the failure.

We are indebted to this condition to the zealous ministry of the churches who have spoiled things on both sides. They have forced us, out of sheer self-defence, to immunize the public schools against all religion, and they have set into vogue in the schools they operate themselves a form of religious instruction which is devotional but neither disciplinary nor constructive. Parents are, accordingly, between two extremes. They do not wish for any other public school teaching than the undenominational and absolutely impartial, and they see no way which leads to that real discipline which they know their children's religious nature requires. Formal instruction in Bible and history and ethics does not go into the texture of the child-life, and there has been no progress in religious pedagogy beyond benevolent sermonizing and pious revamping of Old Testament literature and Old Testament theology. Some Jewish teachers, who realize the inadequacy of this traditional procedure, have taken recourse to whatever promised something in the nature of variety and novelty. So it has come that some teach comparative religion and some teach criticism of the Bible, and that they rival one another in ingenuities. On the one hand, it is asserted that orthodox religion does not square with modern thought, when they really mean that the orthodoxy of teaching methods has obviously resulted in nothing; and, on the other, they show that their schools have not so much an educational as an apologetic aim. But the Sunday School is to train children and has nothing to do with proof and apology and polemic. The Bible is the text-book of the school

not for theological but for educational reasons, and it has a place there for the pedagogic power it has, and that it has only when they make manifest and bring home the truths of life which it undoubtedly contains.

The Bible has a place in the curriculum of a school, not by reason of the doctrines it teaches, but by virtue of pedagogic force it has. It contains Jewish life and it is to transfuse that life into the people of to-day. Within the Sunday School it has prestige, not because it is authoritative but because it portrays life, life as it is, life as it pulsates in Jews to-day. Stanley Hall says the Bible is the greatest book of psychology, and we might add—it is the truest report that has been given us of Jewish thought and Jewish feeling.

But our practice belies our praise. We believe in the classicity rather than in the naturalness of Bible-truth and Bible-life, and we employ them in our teaching of religion as if they had a certain magic power somehow, mysteriously, nurturing faith and sanctifying soul. There is, however, only one kind of quality in the Bible, from the point of view of the teacher, that, through its verity and geniality, it pictures life truthfully, not only mature life but also youth and childhood and those intimate and serious relations into which men enter and put their best and their worst.

I know of nothing that has been so abused, where there should have been the greatest care and thought, than the Bible as a text-book of religion. It has been used at random, as if there were "conversion," "regeneration," and the like from the very covers and fly-leaves. It seems as if it had not dawned on any one that the Bible, as a text-book, like every other text-book, is didactic, and that then it is to be employed according to the standard and the needs of pedagogy and not of theology. So it has occurred that boys of eight have been told of creation and salvation and such things they could not possibly grasp, whereas a hero like David might have stirred them. What could metaphysics do for a soul that wants to grow? Has the Bible really nothing else than abstractions to offer? Considering that we have misunderstood the Bible so egregiously, we may wonder indeed that our schools have not failed more.

We should never forget that while we are teaching, it matters not

what, we must follow educational law, which addresses itself to the normal growth of character. The biographies, the Bible has preserved, are precious didactic material, the biographies it gives of strong as well as of weak men and women. We have nowhere so truthful a portrayal of virtue and vice in human struggle. The teacher can safely go to the Bible for a frank description of what goes on in real life, which, after all, is now what it was thousands of years ago.

Take, for instance, the legalistic tone of the Bible which is so often stigmatized. There is a period in each human individual's development when he needs to feel the sense of dominant law. It is the period of the sovereign Do and Don't. It is the period when the adult teacher or parent must put his strong hand under the arm of the child and help it learn to stand. It is the period in childhood which has its parallel within the history of Israel in the age of Sinai and the Mosaic Dispensation.

Or take the instance of an inquiry which was made among the pupils of a certain Sabbath School some time ago. It had been declared that the pupils of about the age of eight years were living an intellectual and a moral life quite similar to the life of primitive man, that Jewish children at that age had pagan notions as to God and the world, despite thousands of years of uninterrupted monotheism. The pupils were, accordingly, one day asked to write out what they thought God is. Care was taken not to disturb or mislead their spontaneity. The answers were of course tantamount to naïve confessions on the part of the children, and they were a veritable surprise. The children had described God as if they had been little pagans, God is a man, an old man, a big man, and they volunteered to describe their notions doubly by adding drawings of Him. Repeated investigations showed that children are equally primitive as to moral notions and temper. For instance, children honor their parents from no such high level as is portrayed in the poems, but from quite selfish and unpoetic reasons. Child-life and child-character are facts we must understand, if we are to deal with them intelligently. Now, I know of no book where this law of child-growth is so subtly felt and so truthfully described as in the Bible. The Mosaic books have a unique appeal to childhood, and,

if we should put our ear to the heart of present-day life, we should realize that the Bible has just such kind of discipline as the present generation needs. We Jews have become the most righteous people on the earth through discipline and the exactions of that very legalism which every child in our day requires.

There is a progression in morals, noticeable in the Biblical books, from legalism up to the altruism. Beginning with subordination, which is an essential form of moral conduct, and ending in choice of the right and the true, out of love for them. Here we part company from such teachers of ethics as declare that each man, adult and adolescent, should choose his form of conduct. We Jews appreciate tradition and we know that, as with us, so with all human beings, tradition is nine-tenths of life, and nine-tenths of that which is most reliable and most tested. Felix Adler broke with Jewish tradition the moment he declared each man should choose his morality *de novo*.

There is but one qualification in this and that is pedagogic, not religious nor philosophic, but pedagogic. Each pupil takes out of the lesson that which he can take. Jewish history has significance for the teacher as well as for the historian, and I am inclined to believe it has a greater significance for the teacher. Jewish literature means a certain thing to the critic, but, since life has gone into literature, it is the task of the teacher to bring it back out of literature. That is a primal law in teaching, everything else is merely means to that end. It is tolerable when the Sabbath School teacher errs in Biblical criticism; it is pardonable if he is not quite correct in archaeology and geography and the rest; but he commits a sin if he misses or mistakes the pedagogic point. Who can count the pedagogic sins that are being committed in the Sabbath Schools of this country!

We must arrange our teaching material in accordance with the laws of teaching. Criticism of the Bible has nothing to do with this, nor has theology. We must present our history logically, but it must be lodged in the child with due respect to his psychology. The Bible experiences he is told of must not remain alien to him; they should be in keeping with the nature of his child-life and growth. Nothing is so absolutely necessary for the Sabbath School

teacher to be familiar with than the elements of educational psychology, and I am astounded at the daring of some teachers who undertake to teach children without knowing how children think, or how and what they feel, and what their attitude by the law of their child-nature is as to the subjects of religion and morals.

And then, what about moral growth, and how does it proceed? We strive by all means at our command to help it along, but I fear we do it mostly in the dark. We simply somehow trust it is going on. Nor are we any clearer as to what precise thing the history we are narrating and the doctrines we are inculcating contribute to this growth. We say a good many grandiloquent things about tradition, but what is the function of tradition as a teaching-subject? We have in mind largely the same thing that we have in mind when we talk of traditional custom and traditional belief and such. But in the school we should have in mind quite another, and, as I believe, quite more significant sense of tradition, that fact, namely, that the new generation should come into possession of the ways of thinking, feeling and living which the passing generation has. The teacher should realize that the child he has before him represents Jewish tradition more palpably than the Bible does, and that he has in front of him the real evidence of what the past has achieved, and, through it, the warrant of that is still achievable in the future. The teacher should recognize, that he has at his disposal a profound power by which all that is true and fine in the past can make itself felt in the present. He can influence the race by preserving and enhancing the goods of its religious culture, and by vitalizing with these the new generation. He presents and he interprets both the past and the future. He is on the line at which these meet and part.

In this, too, Jewish conception differs from the Christian. The Christian Sabbath School owes its hold on the Church to the doctrine that, by assent and conversion, Christianity begins, as it were, with every child. The Jewish sense of teaching, however, is based on the fact that Judaism is historic, that is, operates in the child's temperament, and that, all things being equal, the child will go through life in about the way his forbears passed through it. This is an actual law of development; the Jewish child recapitulates the

history of the Jewish people. Jewish children are carried by Providence through the same trials and tests that our fathers were borne through, so that by the discipline of them, they are made strong and sane and acquire moral health. The Sabbath School teacher must recognize this law in growth and development and feel the presence of Providence in the child he addresses, or else he will miss the point of Jewish history and of Jewish life.

We complain, for instance, that our Jewish children lack self-assertion; but what do we do to establish it? Maxims are barren, as all generalizations are; we may deliver them with ever so much unction and emphasis, they would still be educationally ineffectual. But we have the Book of Judges, a classic of the virtue of self-assertion, and that classic we have ignored, because we do not know what to do with it. Or, this: what about confirmation, that much lauded and much abused culmination of the Sabbath School? All the ministry does with it is on lines of German Protestantism, teach the catechism and go through the ceremony. But the confirmation epoch is a crisis, a time of the most intense stress in body and soul, the adolescent period, when the mysterious sense of self and the social function are stirred in the boy and the girl, when the subtle virtues awake, modesty, friendship, and the holy feelings of manhood and womanhood. It is the age of puberty and involves a revolution in the young being, when everything is questioned and appraised anew and there arises a new standard of life. It is the period when, for lack of proper and thoughtful and sympathetic treatment, the boy and the girl may slip into skepticism and frivolity. It is a time, too, when adolescents step into the community as well as the communion, and much of their loyalty to and participation and sympathy with their people is determined by the way they are received.

Now, the Talmud is the record of a Great Adjustment, and it is not too much to assert that it is the literary record of a great crisis in Israel, of a turn in Israel's life when, half in despair and half in a subtle self-assurance, Israel struggled into health and maturity. The pedagogic use of the Talmudic literature is still to be fixed. Or take the period of organization, the medieval, the rise of congregationalism in Israel, in which lie the roots of our modern con-

dition. It contains narratives full of martyrdom and heroism and high quality, just such as ought to go into the soul of our young men and women. The story of the Maranno, of the German martyrs, is full of educational meat. What loyalty could not be stirred and fed! The noble dead teaching the living. And so with all of Israel's history and literature.

I repeat, the Sabbath School amongst us is in every sense different from what it is amongst Christians. It has a different origin, and a different aim. In the Christian school the Bible is central, because that is the basis of theology and the only authorized means of religious culture. But the Bible has no such prestige with us. It does not limit our theology and our conception of religion is independent of the Bible by as much as it interprets it. The difference between Jewish education and Christian education rests, finally, in the fact that they appraise history variously. Judaism says history is a living force, which is re-born in every child, and that education opens the way for it. The Sunday School is the organ of historic forces, and aims at transmitting life so as to secure the soundness of Israel in each generation.

DISCUSSION ON PEDAGOGIC METHODS IN THE
SABBATH SCHOOL.

By RABBI ABRAM SIMON.

I regret that the reading of the admirable paper by Dr. Grossmann came so inopportune, when most of us were very fatigued from the long debates of the last two days and were indisposed on account of the inclemency of the weather. It might be some satisfaction to the scholarly essayist to be reminded that the great messages of Sinai and Calvary were given to the world amid similar demonstrations of nature. I feel that a grave injustice has been done the writer and his superior paper.

This question of pedagogics in the Sabbath School is not a trifling one. Its consideration should not have been tacked on the tail-end of this Conference and been given a supercilious and superficial hearing. The Religious Education Association, comprising the leading educators in America, took this problem far more seriously. Dr. Grossmann struck the keynote, in keeping with which our Sabbath School curriculum must ultimately be revised. The psychological phases of the growing Jewish child as reflecting the advancing stages of the Jewish consciousness, as revealed in our history and literature, is the fundamental theme.

Using this thought as a text, I should like to view this thesis from a practical standpoint and with practical ends in mind. If "Salvation shall yet be of the Jew," it will come through the broadest and best education. We are to insist on the justification by education. Neither the divine right of kings or priests is our belief, but the divine right of the teacher should be our constant insistence as in true consonance with the spirit of our past and in due appreciation of the tasks of the present. Teachership is Israel's mission and safety. The subject of pedagogics should be brought into connection with the rest of the program. The brilliant effort of Dr. Kohler anent the "Babel und Bibel" controversy, and the learned presentations of the Sabbath question by Drs. Voorsanger and Enelow, seem at first blush out of line with the less pretentious studies of the Sabbath School. Yet all three themes are woven of the same moral fiber. If we of the reformed wing insist on the evolu-

tionary standpoint and the scientific treatment of our religious problems and of the development of Judaism, we must likewise demand a similar scientific appreciation of our educational tasks. To be logical, every phase of our varied religious activities should feel the force and the impress of the new science. If such a study can reveal to us the soul-stratification, it will lead us to the hidden veins of precious ore of feeling, will and thought. We want to know the soul in order to develop the soul. What is the ultimate value of Dr. Kohler's paper? Was his not a severe rebuke against the animus and prejudice of Professor Delitzsch's notorious lecture? Did he not bring it into the realm of ethics. What is fundamental to this Sabbath discussion unless it be the fear lest the laxity of its observance lead finally to a moral laxity. We were given to understand that an honest Sabbath, whether on Saturday or on Sunday, meant a holier, a happier and a more wholesome *life* for the modern Jew. The introduction of better methods in the Sabbath School has just this moral end in view. When we understand the springs of conduct we shall be better prepared to regulate conduct. When we appreciate the phases of psychical development through which the Jew has passed, and guide the child's growth accordingly, we will be able to set some guarantee on the future of Israel. All our scholarship will be as naught unless the religious future of our children is safe. We can discuss this Sabbath problem forever and for aye and be no nearer the goal of our dreams, and it will all vanish into thin air if we are chary of our boys and girls in their hold on the faith of Israel. If we believe that our religious schools do not do the work they are calculated to do, if we believe that we have the material and that our weakness lies in the method, the conclusion is forced upon us that we must seek the new and the better methods and apply them pedagogically and faithfully in the religious education of our children. In short, the education of Israel must come from three sources; from the scholar, *per se*, who will devote his life to research and investigation; from the rabbi, who will popularize these studies by the power of pen and tongue, and from the trained Sabbath School teacher, who from the preceding shall touch the hidden springs of thought and feeling, strengthen the will, deepen the sentiments, enrich the sympathies and develop character.



[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF REFORMED JUDAISM.

By MAX L. MARGOLIS.

"I had rather teach one of the fundamental doctrines of our religion than anything else in the world" (MAIMUNI, Comment. on *Brakot*, end).

"Let the world know clearly and distinctly what is the substance of Judaism" (ISAAC M. WISE, July 5, 1898).

ABBREVIATIONS.

- AJTh*..... American Journal of Theology.
Bernfeld..... Bernfeld, רשות ליהים.
Bousset..... Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter.
IJG..... Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte,⁴ 1901.
Jost..... Jost, Culturgeschichte der Israeliten der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.
JQR..... Jewish Quarterly Review.
KAT..... Die Keilschriften und das alte Testament,⁵ 1903.
Kaufmann..... Kaufmann, Geschichte der Attributenelehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters, 1877.
Schürer..... Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes in Zeitalter Jesu Christi.⁶
Smend..... Smend, Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte.⁷
UPB..... Union Prayer Book (published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis), 1894 f.
YB..... Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.
ZAW..... Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

I.

Reformed Judaism has been presented to the world under a variety of aspects. I. M. Jost, the first historian of the movement, seems to have an eye mainly for its cultural aspect. His short sketch, with its significant title, *Culturgeschichte der Israeliten der*

ersten Hälften des 19. Jahrhunderts,¹ seeks to throw into relief those sides which were indicative of the transformation in mode of life and thought incident to the new culture. It were idle to forget that the reformation had its birth among the circles of the Friends of Culture² and in the Societies for Culture,³ and that it was a movement conditioned by, rather than conditioning, the entrance of the Jew into modern life. On its cultural side, the new Judaism might be characterized as the Judaism of the Citizen⁴ and be contrasted with the Judaism of the Ghetto-Jew.⁵ Culture with DAVID FRIED-LÄNDER, "the faithful disciple and friend of MOSES MENDELSSOHN,"⁶ JOST, ZUNZ, GABRIEL RIESSER, to mention a few of the pioneers, was indeed a firmly rooted and authoritative attitude of mind; with reference to them the cultural aspect is all-inclusive. But with a view to others of our early reformers with whom culture was, I fear, only skin-deep, the æsthetic aspect of the reformatory movement has been rightly emphasized. "The spirit dominant in JACOBSON'S private synagogue was rather that of æsthetic refinement than of religious solemnity."⁷ Many of the old ceremonies⁸ have disappeared or been remodeled on the ground of offensiveness to the æsthetic sense.⁹ The geographical aspect, a favorite with some of our journalists, has its merits. The movement originated in Germany and was transplanted to our own country by German Jews.¹⁰ Hence we speak of German, American, Western Judaism on the one

¹ 1846.

² *Kulturfreunde*.

³ *Kulturvereine*.

⁴ *Staatsbürger*.

⁵ "Both (the *Reform-Genossenschaft* of Berlin as well as the Rabbinical Conference at Frankfort) agree that only by divesting itself of all ceremonies which are purely Oriental and contrary to European habits, or which constitute a hindrance to the performance of civic duties, may Judaism prove and maintain its truth and genuineness in modern times and among the civilized nations etc." (Jost, 255). The Posen rabbinate consistently refused the proffer of citizenship (Bernfeld, כ י אין חוץ לישראל להשתקע בנווה אלא לנו פה (1900, 65 f.). On the history of the first stages of the movement see Philipson, "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism," *JQR.*, 15, (1903), 475 ff.; 16 (1904), 30 ff.

⁶ *Treuer Schüler und Freund Moses Mendelssohns*.

⁷ Jost 14.

⁸ e. g., *נטילת ללב תקיעת שופר*

⁹ See *Protocolle d. Rabbiner-Versammlung zu Braunschweig*, 1844, 46.

¹⁰ An account of the movement in America by Dr. Philipson may be found *JQR.*, 10 (1898), 52-99.

hand, of the Judaism of Eastern Europe, England, the Atlantic seaboard on the other. As seen through the glasses of Zionism, our movement, though essentially antithetic to the nationalistic idea, represents a somewhat regrettable, but nevertheless necessary chapter in Jewish history which is to usher in the new synthesis; the latter, however, because still in the process of formation, remains an obscure, enigmatic quantity.¹¹ This, of course, is the national aspect. But is not the Jewish reformation a religious movement? Has it not a theological aspect? Let me but recall to your mind that, in connection with the early liturgical reforms, the dispute turned upon important dogmas to which, it was felt by the traditionalists, the reformers gave a new meaning;¹² that in the Frankfort Conference¹³ a just, though inopportune, demand for a declaration of principles was made by FRANKEL;¹⁴ that it was furthermore the same FRANKEL who counseled the convocation of an Assembly of Theologians¹⁵ as distinct in scope of power and authority from a mere Conference of Rabbis.¹⁶ You will also recollect the discussions and resolutions concerning the seat of authority which have formed part of the proceedings of the earliest conferences and synods as well as of our own sixth convention at Rochester.¹⁷ There has surely been no lack of platforms, some abortive, others the mature fruit of deliberation and destined to live, from the Three Articles of the Frankfort *Reformverein*¹⁸ to the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM, "the clearest expression of the reform movement that has ever been published to the world."¹⁹ It is thus clear, beyond peradventure,

¹¹ Bernfeld, in the work referred to. Zionism as the goal of the "Jewish Reformation" in G. Gottheil's paper *AJTh.*, 6 (1902), 266-284.

¹² ". . . (the rabbis of Hamburg) having become convinced that the construction put upon several articles of faith, notably the Messianic doctrine, by the *Tempelverein* in its liturgy differed from the current conception etc." (Jost, 23).

¹³ Third session, July 16, 1845.

¹⁴ See *Protokolle der Rabbiner-Versammlung zu Frankfort am Main*, 1845, 18 ff., 86 ff.

¹⁵ *Theologenversammlung*. ¹⁶ *Rabbinerversammlung*. See Jost, 252.

¹⁷ *YB.*, 6 (1895), 37 f., 52, 54, 58-63. See also the President's Address, *ibid.*, 7 (1896), 16 f. ¹⁸ 1843. See Jost, 215.

¹⁹ Philipson *JQR.*, 10 (1898), 83 f. The Pittsburgh conference was held in November, 1885.

that the Jewish reformation has its theological aspect. To emphasize this theological aspect and to place it in the forefront of our movement is the aim of the present paper.²⁰

What is Theology? and is it a necessary adjunct to any religion?

There was a time—and here and there it may not be over yet—when science and theology were in arms against each other.²¹ Of late, however, theology has had to defend itself against an unexpected opponent. We may now perhaps speak of the warfare of religion with theology.²² The disrepute into which theology, once queen of sciences, has fallen and which she shares—there is comfort in companionship—with philosophy, or, at least, metaphysical speculation,²³ is rightly laid by an English theologian principally at the door of modern positivism and agnosticism.²⁴ The history of religions²⁵ and the science of religions²⁶ seem to usurp the place and the attention formerly held by systematic theology. There has,

²⁰ For reasons which will become clear as we proceed, the term "theological" has been more or less shunned. Dr. Hirsch's paper presented before the Rochester Conference (*YB.*, 6 (1895), 90-112) bears the title, "The Philosophy of the Reform Movement in American Judaism." Dr. Philipson's "Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism" in the *New World*, 4 (1895), 601-625, contains valuable matter; some of the statements, however, are erroneous; note the writer's horror of a "definite and formulated creed," or of a "confession of faith." Contrast with Gottheil's paper referred to above his own "Syllabus of a Treatise on the Development of Religious Ideas in Judaism since Moses Mendelsohn" in *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions*, 1894, 26-34. I. M. Wise's "Introduction to the Theology of Judaism" in the same volume 1-25, though open to grave objections on its philological and historical sides, is significant both because of the omission of the qualification "Reformed" in the title and for its insistence upon the necessity of a formulated creed.

²¹ Andrew D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 1895.

²² The following sentence from a famous Church historian's much read work will serve as an index to show what our present situation is: "How often in history has theology been but the means whereby religion was discarded!" (Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, third lecture).

²³ See Prof. Howison's paper on "Philosophy and Science" in the *University* (of California) *Chronicle*, October, 1902, especially p. 130 f.

²⁴ Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology*, 2nd edition, 1902, 1 f.

²⁵ *Religionsgeschichte*.

²⁶ *Religionswissenschaft*.

indeed, arisen in Protestant Christianity a new theology, the RITSCHLIAN,²⁷ which seeks to adjust itself to the intellectual situation of the age by excluding metaphysics, rejecting speculative theism, condemning ecclesiastical dogma, antagonizing religious mysticism and, on its positive side, by laying stress upon the subjective form of religious knowledge,²⁸ the personal experience of inward transformation and the historical (as opposed to natural and mystical) character of revelation in Christ.²⁹ The Ritschlian theology, though now dominant in German universities,³⁰ has nevertheless met with strenuous opposition not only on the part of orthodox theologians, but also on the part of thinkers who, like PFLEIDERER,³¹ refuse to shut their eyes to the philosophical blunders of the system as well as to its dangers on the side of religion. The epithet "Theological Agnosticism" applied to the Ritschlian system by an English divine³² is certainly not inapt.³³ Moreover, the Ritschlans themselves do not faithfully adhere to their proposition to exclude metaphysical speculation: it slips in unawares.

²⁷ For a critical, yet sympathetic estimate see Garvie's work referred to above. The short characterization in the text is derived from it. See also Orr, *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*, 2d edition, 1898.

²⁸ "Consisting of value-judgments, which express not the nature or cause of the object of knowledge, but its relation to the subject as furthering or hindering his own end."

²⁹ "Revelation, according to Herrmann, is the personal experience of inward transformation, and does not consist of the facts and the truths of the Holy Scriptures, which can be rightly understood only after that personal experience; but is God's own presence with and action in a man through the historical Jesus, which inspires and sustains the faith that grasps it."

³⁰ Men like Herrmann, Kaftan, Harnack are its most noted exponents.

³¹ His *Ritschl'sche Theologie*, 1891, is before me. See also his *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (I have used the 2d edition), 1883, 513 ff., and his *Development of Theology in Germany and in Great Britain*, 1890, 183 f. It is worthy of note that the indifference, if not hostility, to the Old Testament on the part of the majority of the Ritschlans calls forth Pfleiderer's remark (*Die Ritschl'sche Theologie*, 34) that they ought squarely and above board to put themselves on the side of Marcion. Exactly in the same sense does President Schechter in his *Inaugural Address* (New York, 1903, 12) speak of the "Marcionism of the nineteenth century type."

³² Prof. Bruce, *AJTh.*, 1 (1897), 1-15.

³³ See also Prof. Flint's summary and criticism of the Ritschlian system in his latest book on *Agnosticism*, 1903, 593-596.

It is thus, I venture to believe, clear enough that there is a speculative element in theology and that no religion will fail sooner or later to express itself in theological terms.²⁴ It is furthermore clear that the history and science of religions, while useful sciences,²⁵ are in no wise capable of taking the place of theology. I said that there is a speculative element in theology. Yet theology is not quite identical with the philosophy of religion.²⁶ The philosophy of religion seeks to justify the facts of man's religious consciousness and to establish their validity and reality, while theology, in my humble judgment, is charged with the more modest task of giving systematic expression to the thoughts imbedded in sacred documents, or underlying religious institutions, or rooted in the consciousness of a religious community. These thoughts, changeful and fluctuating and contingent though they may appear to the historian, the theologian, by dint of philosophical insight and of a peculiar tact²⁷ which knows how to seize upon the constant and essential and living, seeks to sum up in a definite number of leading principles, called dogmas,²⁸

²⁴ "Faith," says Garvie, *loc. cit.*, 103, "cannot remain long in an irreflective stage; it must make its own contents clear to itself, and so sure for itself." He rightly considers it a "never-ending task" which, however, cannot be shirked.

²⁵ The history of a religion describes its origin, progress, transformation, decay. The various periods are distinguished with studied nicety. The historian's point of view is often a subjective, if not a biased one: noteworthy *Geschichtskonstruktionen* which are not always quite convincing. The science of religions "collects, arranges and compares the facts of man's religious consciousness and history." Here again the personal equation obtrudes itself in the problem of classification, for instance.

²⁶ The latter name seems to be free from the opprobrium which has attached itself to theology; it sounds more pretentious. But the two sciences should be kept distinct.

²⁷ Pfleiderer, *Development of Theology*, 205.

²⁸ The horror of dogma has been alluded to. On the opposition to dogma on the part of the Ritschlians, particularly on the part of the well known historian of Christian dogma, Harnack, see Garvie. The dangers of ecclesiastical dogmas, especially when a re-formulation of them is eternally barred, are by no means overlooked by men like Pfleiderer (*Development of Theology*, 347, bottom). On the other hand, Pfleiderer rightly assents to Tulloch's criticism of Matthew Arnold's inimical attitude to dogma. "Arnold's notion of

which in their totality make up the creed of the Church. The philosophy of religion is justly regarded as a department of philosophy; theology means nothing more, but nothing less than organized religious thought, and stands midway between history, which furnishes its material, and philosophy, from which it borrows its constructive principle and, perchance, its weapons of defence.³⁰ The philosopher approaches the subject of religion not necessarily in an unfriendly disposition, but certainly as an outsider; the theologian, on the other hand, speaks with a warm heart and "as one who has

dogma as an excrescence or disease of religion is superficial. Of course religion and dogma are not identical. But the latter is the product of religious thought, or of the thought of the Church upon the facts of religious experience. The creeds of the Church are the fruit of the best possible efforts of theological thinkers of every age, accordingly living expression of the Christian consciousness, deserving as such more respect than they meet with from the representatives of the modern spirit" (as above, 333).

³⁰ On the relation of theology to the philosophy of religion and to philosophy in general I find some good thoughts in Dr. Newton H. Marshall's expanded dissertation, *Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie in England und ihre erkenntniss-theoretischen Grundlagen*, 1902, 102 ff. But he seems to think that the work of the theologian consists chiefly in the examination, revision and systematization of a given set of articles of faith; hence he identifies theology with philosophy, or at least regards the former as a department of the latter. "The formulation of the original articles of faith is a function wholly unrelated to philosophy; but the theological procedure which consists in their examination and systematization is the same activity of the human mind which is displayed in philosophical speculation." I do not know whether the construction of the early creeds in the Christian Church should not be dignified with the name "theology"; it seems to me that no small amount of actual speculation played a part in the shaping of Christian dogma. With reference, however, to Judaism where the formulation of a systematic creed is almost coincident with its philosophical examination and defense (see below), the definition of theology given in the text and its separation from philosophy will, I believe, commend themselves as logical. The two occupations are very often united in one man; in point of fact, our theologians have, as a rule, been also philosophers; but, nevertheless, it is important to keep the two distinct. Even in the history of Jewish literature, it is very often possible to carry out the distinction in the works of one and the same author: Maimuni's "Guide" is a philosophical, or *religionsphilosophisches* work, while his excursus *Sanhedrin* x. 1 and certainly the greater portion of the *ערכות* are strictly theological in character.

authority.”⁴⁰ The theologian must necessarily stand within his Church; for, whatever be his philological attainments or the philosophical discipline of his mind which enable him to reproduce⁴¹ and to systematize, he must above all be possessed of original religious thought⁴² which comes to him who is in touch with the living consciousness of an historical religious organization.

II.

In Judaism, I believe, the life of dogma runs in three clearly distinct stages: that of origination, or creation, or, in theological language, revelation, that of formulation and that of re-formulation. The creative stage opens with that mysterious, almost timeless moment when, in the depths of a human soul (which, by Divine selection, becomes the organ of revelation) there is conceived a religious idea which, by virtue of its innate force, will seek embodiment in institutions, in song and prayer and, in due season, in articulate, definite statement, in a formulated dogma. It were idle, I think, even after a religious idea has become fully manifest, to seek to explain its beginnings or its appearance just at this and that moment and in this and that personality; but it is often quite possible to tell the circumstances that brought about the formulation of a dogma or a set of dogmas at a certain period in the history of Judaism. The formulation of a dogma presupposes reflection; reflection is frequently the result of contact with foreign ideas which threaten the very life of, and thus bring to light, the native religious possessions. Again, formulation comes through the conflict of opposing factions within the Church. The perplexed laity will demand from the leaders clear definitions: What is Judaism? While, how-

⁴⁰ “There is a difference,” says Prof. Granger, *The Soul of a Christian*, 1900, 17, “between theology and the philosophy of religion. Theology implies that a particular standpoint is taken up in religious matters, whereas the philosophy of religion would seem to view all standpoints in an external manner. The philosophy of religion deals with its subject as related to human experience generally, whereas theology tends to confine itself within the limits laid down by tradition, whether the tradition take the form of certain documents, or certain institutions, or both of these together.”

⁴¹ *nachempfinden*.

⁴² *religiöse Empfindung*.

ever, the creative energy by the grace of which religious ideas are conceived is divine, infallible, eternal, the formulation of dogmas is, relatively speaking, human, and, therefore, partakes of the limitations of human endeavor. Hence the necessity for the correction of inadequate formulation, for restatement, for re-formulation.¹

Before the rise of the Jewish reformation and the accompanying attempts at ecclesiastical organization,² there is no record—I am aware of the few exceptions—of the formulation and proclamation of important Jewish dogmas on the part of authoritative bodies or councils. Hence, indeed, the erroneous impression that Judaism has no dogmas. Take, for instance, the cardinal dogma of Judaism, that of the Unity of God. Can any one name the Conference by which that doctrine was framed and promulgated? What are then our sources for an ascertainment and enumeration of the dogmas of Judaism? and which are the tests by which a dogma may be recognized as such? I answer on the basis of the studies of LUZZATTO, LEOPOLD LÖW, SCHECHTER,³ as well as of my own humble efforts:

¹ It is not our province to meddle in the dispute between Harnack and his German and English critics with regard to the limits of the development of Christian dogma. See on the one hand Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Engl. trans., I, Prolegomena, and on the other Garvie, 101 ff.; Orr, *The Progress of Dogma*, 1901, Lecture I. It all depends upon how dogma is defined; moreover, what applies to Christianity need not hold good of Judaism. I believe that the following pages will justify our account of the history of Jewish dogma in its general aspects as attempted in the text. Re-formulation has its causes, to be sure; but it is not necessarily forced upon theology altogether from without. Marshall, 115, footnote 5: "It is proper that we beware here (with reference to the transformations in theology) of the arbitrary use of expressions like 'forcing upon.' One should bear in mind that progress in all fields of thought takes place under similar conditions. The human mind, whether occupied with the problems of natural science or with those of theology, has a conservative as well as a progressive tendency. The movement of thought is not confined to scientific and philosophical specialists, but belongs to general humanity, and, while it is customary to ascribe the initiative in theological transformations to scientific criticism, it should not be forgotten that, whatever transformations take place in theology, they are the work of theologians and not of natural scientists."

² See Dr. Enelow's paper referred to below.

³ S. D. Luzzatto, *Lezioni di teologia dogmatica israelitica*, 1864; Leopold Löw, "Die Grundlehren der Religion Israels," 1858, and "Jüdische Dogmen,"

First, we have an extensive literature of dogmatic and apologetic theology which, roughly speaking, began in the tenth century and, so far as its influences went, continued down to the eighteenth, the most notable contribution unquestionably being MAIMUNI'S Creed (THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES) which, although framed in the silent solitude of a scholar's study, found its way into the Prayer-Book and thus obtained a quasi-official sanction.⁴ Then, as we ascend, we have Midrash, Talmud, Mishna, Targum, Prayer-Book, a literature which, far from being theological in the strict sense of the word, yet, in its juridical or homiletical, expositional or devotional character, borders on the theological: the theological elements in that literature still await an exhaustive, systematic, strictly historical and thoroughly critical presentation.⁵ It is significant that we meet in

1871, reprinted *Gesammelte Schriften*, I (1889), 31-52, 133-176; S. Schechter, "The Dogmas of Judaism," *IQR.*, I (1889), 48-61, 115-127. See also Felsen-thal, "Gibt es Dogmen im Judenthum?", *YB.*, 8 (1897), 54 ff.

⁴ See the short account on Jewish "Religionsphilosophie" by Bloch in Winter and Wünsche's *Jüdische Litteratur*, II, 699-793. Much more comprehensive and valuable are Bernfeld's two volumes,

דעת אלחים. תולדות הפלמוספיה. דרhhית בישראל 1897-99.

Maimuni's Creed is found in his excursus *ad. Sanhed.* x. 1, the Arabic text in Pococke's *Porta Mosis*, 1655, 133-180, and in J. Holzer's *Zur Geschichte der Dogmenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters*, 1901 (the latter work not accessible to me). The apologetic literature from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century is described by Bäck, in Winter and Wünsche's *Jüdische Litteratur*, III, 655-719; older works in Arabic in Stein-schneider's monograph, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, 1877. On the subject of disputations we have a popular study by Ziegler (*Religiöse Disputationen im Mit-telalter*, 1894); his promised comprehensive work has thus far not appeared.

⁵ Weber's *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften* (thus runs the title of the second edition, 1897) is notoriously unsatisfactory. "The fault is partly due to the Jewish scholars themselves. They have done far too little to make their historic theology known. If Weber is a bad book, they have produced no better" (C. G. Montefiore, *Hibbert Journal*, I (1903), 337). Schürer's treatment of the subject in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (now in its third edition, 1898-1901) has been criticised by Jewish scholars as biased (see Abrahams, "Professor Schürer on Life under the Jewish Law," *IQR.*, II (1899), 626-642; see also Schechter, "The Law and Recent Criticism," *ibid.*, 3 (1891), 754-766, with reference to Prof. Toy's *Judaism and Christianity*,

that literature with the word which in the subsequent theological writings became the specific term for fundamental principle or dogma, apparently almost with same force.⁶ But the *locus classicus* is undoubtedly Mishna, *Sanhedrin* x. 1. Exceedingly valuable, especially when divested of the terminology as far as it is borrowed from Greek philosophy and compared with the mishnic evidence, are the summaries of the beliefs held by Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes found in the works of JOSEPHUS.⁷ This writer links us to the theological and apologetic works of the Jews writing in Greek which were grouped around the Greek Pentateuch.⁸ But the Bible

1890). Schechter's articles in the *JQR.* ("Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology," 6 (1894), 405-427, 633-647; 7 (1895), 195-215; 8 (1895), 1-16, (1896), 363-380, and "The Rabbinic Conception of Holiness," 10 (1897), 1-12) are certainly valuable *Vorarbeiten*, but, in their present form, somewhat sketchy. Of Bacher's works (*Die Agada der Tannaiten*, I (1884), II (1890), *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer*, I (1892), II (1896)), Dalman, *Worte Jesu* (itself a noteworthy contribution), I (1898), 61, says: "When supplemented by the anonymous haggada of Palestine, these works will form a valuable thesaurus of the sayings of the Palestinian rabbis from which may be constructed a real 'Theology of the early Palestinian Synagogue'." Bacher has also written: *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer* (1878). The indexes afford opportunity for systematic grouping. A paper on the Theology of the (Old) Prayer Book by the writer is printed *YB.*, 8 (1897), 1-10. The subject needs methodic treatment and should be preceded by a critical study of the history of the Prayer Book.

⁶ שִׁקְרָה in the phrase בּוֹפֵר בְּשִׁקְרָה. See the references in Levy, Kohut s. v. See also Schechter, *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 54, footnote.

⁷ Collected and estimated by Schürer, II, 382 ff.

⁸ On Hellenistic Jewish literature consult Schürer. A very valuable contribution to the theology of what Christian scholars term "Late Judaism" and what we should call "Early Rabbinism" (bad as the term "Rabbinism" may be), which takes account of Hellenistic Judaism as well, is Bousset's recent work, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1903. Of his own earlier effort (*Die Predigt Jesu in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, 1892) Bousset admits on p. 52 that it emphasizes, in a one-sided manner, the contrast between Jewish and evangelical piety. A review of Bousset's work by the present writer has been prepared for the *AJTh*. The following works also deserve mention: Schlatter, *Israels Geschichte von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian*, 1901 (the inner development receives the greater share of the author's attention); Baldensperger, *Das spätere Judentum als Vorstufe des Christenthums*, 1900, and *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des*

itself, that is to say, the Jewish canon, is quite an important source. For, while we shall look there in vain for a systematic exposition of doctrine, the Bible, in the first place, contains theological data which it is our business to collect and systematize; but, above all, we shall find there certain fundamental beliefs, dogmas, if you please, which we may recognize by their frequent repetition, the emphasis which is placed upon them and the solemnity with which they are enunciated, and sometimes also by their selection as a mark for the questionings of doubt.⁹

Thus, with due regard to the historically ascertainable phases of the specific Jewish dogmas, that is, their conscious formulation and reformulation, or (for the two phases imply but one process) their gradual, increasingly luminous and adequate formulation, we are able to present the creed of Judaism, that is, the content of divinely revealed religious thought possessed by the Jewish community, in so far as it became articulate in its leaders and constituted the tacit or avowed condition of membership therein (of course, in the times preceding our reformation), under the following divisions:

A. THEOLOGY (in the narrower, etymological, sense: fundamental doctrines concerning God): (1) GOD IS:

The belief in the existence of God is the first article in MAIMUNI'S Creed: **אלקָאשָׁרְתִּילְאַלְאֵלִי וָנוֹדָאַלְבָאָרִי**. In the opening paragraphs of his Code,¹⁰ the knowledge of that cardinal doctrine is made a duty incumbent upon every Jew. "Knowledge"¹¹ is the title of the first book of the Code, elsewhere¹² we are told that a thoughtless, mechan-

Judenthums, 3, 1903 (the contrast between legalism and Messianism is over-drawn); M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christenthums*, 1903. Although the distinctive features of Hellenistic Jewish theology were lost in the subsequent development of Judaism on Palestinian and Babylonian soil, the Jewish theologian cannot afford to ignore the Hellenistic development where it serves to elucidate the problems and teachings of "early rabbinic" theology.

⁹ A recent systematic treatment of biblical theology we possess in Dillmann's posthumous *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, 1895. From a strictly historical point of view: Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, 2, 1899.

¹⁰ יסורי התורה i. 6.

מִרְעָם

¹² *Guide*, I, 50.

ical profession of a religious truth cannot be satisfactory; belief therein must, at the very least, be accompanied by an adequate comprehension of its content. The highest kind of belief is conviction based on speculation (אַלְדוֹנָה אַלְעָלִית דָּרְנוֹת אַלְנֶטוֹ).¹³ It is needless to say that BAHIA and MAIMUNI are guilty of bad, that is, unhistorical, exegesis, when they attempt to force the speculative meaning upon the biblical יְדֻעַת אֱלֹהִים in *Deut.* iv. 35, 39; *I Chron.* xxviii. 9, or elsewhere. The biblical יְדֻעַת אֱלֹהִים means obedience to the Divine will, an effort of the will, not an intellectual pursuit. See, e. g., *Jerem.* ix. 23; xii. 16. The prayer for "knowledge, intelligence and insight" (fourth benediction in the *Sheva*) is to be understood in the same sense.¹⁴ The aversion of the Mishna to speculation is well known.¹⁵ Similarly *Ecclesiastes* iii. 21 ff.¹⁶ "The fool who hath said in his heart, There is no God" is the *ἄθεος* in the sense "ungodly, godless" (a man who conducts himself as if there were no God to whom he is responsible) rather than in that of "atheist" (one who, upon the grounds of speculation, denies the existence of God). A philosophical atheist was beyond the horizon of the Psalmist. It is not impossible that such a person is meant by *Sanhedrin* x. 1. פָּקָר, which seems to be derived from the noun, means to "throw off restraint, be a libertine"; libertinism often sought to justify itself by attacking the beliefs of those who remained within the pale of tradition; hence the injunction: Know how to answer (refute) an Epicurean!¹⁷ In the majority of cases, however, a person called אַפִּיקוֹרָם will have been, what we vulgarly call, an infidel, sceptic, etc. Maimuni was certainly right, in an age when the study of philosophy was current among educated Jews and when many of them were perplexed about the validity of the doctrines of religion and Judaism, to emphasize the duty of speculation in connection with the truths of Judaism: for the antidote to false reasoning which leads men away from religion will always be reason rightly directed. How

¹³ See also *ibid.*, III, 51; חוכות הלבבות, I, 3. The opposite view is held by Judah ha-Levi, *Kuzari*, v. 1: The highest faith is free from speculation, אַלְדוֹנָה אַלְעָלִית מִן כָּלֵין אַלְעָתָקָאָד רֹוֹן בְּחַתְּ.

¹⁴ *Mgil.* 17 b rightly compares *Isai.* vi. 10.

¹⁵ E. g., *Hagig.* ii. 1.

¹⁶ See the editions based on the Hebrew.

¹⁷ *Ps.* xiv. 2.

¹⁸ *Abot* ii. 14.

far did MAIMUNI hope to get with reason, speculation, "knowledge"? "All that we may know of God is the mere fact of His absolutely necessary existence—this proposition constitutes the beginning and end of MAIMUNI's theology. The immediate consequence of this principle offers him the basis of his entire theory of attributes, the conviction of the impossibility of any composition in God. . . . Thus any assertion concerning the essence of God is positively impossible. . . . Only those attributes may be employed by which the essence of God is wholly untouched, as those of activity. . . . As supports of the idea of God for the weak human intellect they cannot be spared and are a necessary evil. . . . But, when, in addition, a set of attributes which have their origin neither in the activities nor in the relations of the Deity, pretends to predicate of God something positive, we may regard as its true content only the fact that the opposite thereof is denied with reference to the Deity. . . . While, however, even the permissible positive attributes are not entirely free from the charge that they endanger the conception of the Divine Unity, even the semblance of a multiplication of the Deity is avoided in the case of the negative attributes. Hence we ought to confine ourselves to the latter; we may multiply them only; we can know only what God is not. Every progress in the cognition of the Deity means only that in a new case our conviction is verified that we can have no knowledge whatever of the essence of God."¹⁹ MAIMUNI finds a *point d'appui* for his doctrine of the incognoscibility of the Divine essence in Scriptural passages like *Ps.* lxx. 2: "For Thee silence is praise,"²⁰ or in the saying of the rabbis: "Scripture speaks the language of man."²¹ Another saying of the rabbis which served him in good stead²² he took from *Hagig.* 15 a: "There is above neither sitting nor standing, neither combination nor separation."²³ The story *Brakot* 33 b of one who led the con-

¹⁹ Kaufmann, 471-473. See his exposition of Maimuni's system in detail, 364 ff., esp. 428 ff.

²⁰ This is, of course, a rendering *ad hoc*.

²¹ The application of this saying to the Divine attributes is, of course, not warranted in the original contexts, still the principle was there, and Maimuni rightly made his own deductions. See *Torah Sodot*, i. 12.

²² *Ibid.*, 11.

²³ So according to Maimuni's reading and interpretation, *Sanhedr.* x. 1, third article; see Rashi for another reading and interpretation.

gregation in prayer and was reprimanded by Rabbi Hanina for his multiplication of the Divine attributes²⁴ affords MAIMUNI the opportunity for incorporating in his Code²⁵ a prohibition of multiplying the Divine attributes in prayer. The doctrine of the incognoscibility of God was by no means original with MAIMUNI, says KAUFMANN;²⁶ he had his predecessors among Jews, Mohammedans, Christians; PHILO had long before him propounded the theory of negative attributes;²⁷ but no one among the Jewish theologians of the Middle Ages pronounced it with such seriousness and fearlessness.²⁸ MAIMUNI's theory of negative attributes was pronounced as unsatisfactory by CRESCAS (1405) who vindicates for the Deity five positive attributes: Existence, Unity, Omniscience, Volition, Omnipotence. Similarly ALBO (1428).

(2) HE IS ONE:

The second article in MAIMUNI'S Creed: *הָרָה*. It is universally agreed that the dogma of the Unity of God occupies the central place in the system of the Jewish religion; it is the corner-stone of Judaism, its only dogma according to some. "In the confession of the Unity of God is contained the sum of the Jewish religion."²⁹ "The Jewish Church properly possesses but one dogma: the belief in the One God."³⁰ How old is the monotheistic dogma in Judaism? The term dogma has been defined above; a dogma must be formulated before it can be dignified by that name. It is furthermore clear that, inasmuch as formulation with us may partake of inadequacy and the want of finality, which render a more adequate and perfect re-formulation necessary, the meaning of the term "monotheism" will necessarily vary. Whatever, therefore, is in the line of, and tends to, the most adequate and perfect definition of monotheism, absolute monotheism, is at once worthy of the name

²⁴ Kaufmann, 447.

²⁵ *הָרָה*, ix. 7.

²⁶ P. 481.

²⁷ Bousset, 420.

²⁸ On the "docta ignorantia" of mediæval Christian scholars see Flint, *loc. cit.*, 109, and Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judentum*, 1902, 143.

²⁹ Bousset, 169.

³⁰ *Id.*, 291. It must be remembered that B. is treating of a specific period in Judaism; see above.

even in its less perfect, relative phase. The historian should record the phases as they succeed each other: polytheism, monolatry, monotheism; when he speaks of a "primitive monotheism"—*Urmonotheismus*—he either misuses the term or oversteps the limits of his subject. So much for the phantom which DELITZSCH has conjured up in his (first) lecture on *Babel und Bibel* and which has sorely provoked H. S. CHAMBERLAIN.²¹ The theologian, indeed, may with perfect propriety speak of an *Urmonotheismus*, a latent monotheism, which, once revealed to a human ear, here and there and everywhere, but particularly among those whom, in a later stage of their life, we call Jews, was bound sooner or later to become articulate and manifest. Similarly, Judaism, in an historical sense, is the name for the system of a definite period during which the distinctively Jewish doctrines and institutions became boldly apparent; but, theologically speaking, we may be permitted to include in the term also the system of the period of preparation during which those doctrines may be discerned as a tendency. I take it, therefore, that monotheism as a tendency is as old as Jahvism and may, without doing violence to history, be associated with the name of Moses. "Jahu is the name of God among the Western Semites. The matter has been repeatedly treated and proved on the basis of the inscriptions. If the name of God in the Old Testament has anything to do with it (according to our opinion it represents a conscious aim at differentiating it from the heathen name) this is of no significance for the determination of the Old Testament concept of the Deity. The name, though starting from something given, became the signal for a religious concentration at Sinai. From this connection of the revelation with something historically given the fact may be explained that pre-prophetic monotheism remained relative."²² "The Philistines aroused Jahve from his slumber."²³ The *nbi'im* arose. When Ahab, to please his Tyrian spouse, built in Samaria a temple for the Tyrian Baal, Elijah protested. "For him it was a halting on both sides, an irreconcilable contradiction, that Jahve was worshiped as the God of Israel and that at the same time

²¹ *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1, 1903, xl ix ff.

²² A Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*, 1903, 13 f.

²³ Wellhausen, *IJG*, 53.

a chapel was built for Baal in Israel.”³⁴ “I, Jahve thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage—thou shalt have none other gods beside Me”³⁵—the oldest formulation of monotheism, though in a relative form. The monotheistic idea was the force that brought about the Josianic reformation with its single sanctuary; but out of that reformation the monotheistic idea came forth in a new and perfect form. “Hear, O Israel, Jahve, our God, Jahve is One: and thou shalt love Jahve thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.”³⁶ I know the philological difficulties of verse 4 which, however, are exaggerated by LAGARDE.³⁷ No such difficulties obtain with regard to *Deut.* iv. 35: “Thou wast made to see, so as to know that Jahve, He is God.” “Relative monotheism has become absolute.”³⁸ Indeed, a Hebrew writer wishing to give expression to the doctrine of absolute monotheism could not chose a more unambiguous phraseology.³⁹ The very name Jahve was later supplanted by Adonai (אֲדֹנָי, the Lord) and Elohim.^{39a} The stage of relative monotheism is very properly designated by Jahvism; it is, on the surface, a national religion, the religion of a nation enjoying political life. But absolute monotheism which is Judaism, the religion of a community developing into a Church, should be named Theism, the Greek equivalent of Elohim. The deuteronomistic writers are fully conscious of the *differentia* of Judaism. The great anonymous writer (and editor?) of *Isai.* xl. ff. again and again reiterates the Jewish belief in the One and Eternal God. “I, Jahve, who am the first, and with those that come after am still the same.”⁴⁰ “That ye may acknowledge and believe Me, and discern that I am He; before Me no God was formed, nor shall there be after Me.”⁴¹ “I am the first, and I am the last, and beside Me there is no God.”⁴² On Deutero-Isaiah’s polemical invectives against the nothingness

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.³⁵ *Exod.*, xx, 2 f.³⁶ *Deut.*, vi, 4 f.³⁷ *Deutsche Schriften*, Gesamtausgabe letzter Hand, 1892, 318.³⁸ Bertholet, 1899, *ad loc.*³⁹ See Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, 3, 1892, §199.^{39a} E. g., in the Elohim Psalms; see Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d edition, 1892, 198 f. See also Wellhausen, *IIG.*, 225.⁴⁰ xli. 4.⁴¹ xlivi. 10.⁴² xliv. 6.

of the heathen gods see SMEND.⁴³ "Deutero-Isaiah seems to take the name of Jahve in the sense of the true God. Moreover, he also says for Jahve simply יְהוָה in the sense of the Only God." "The ridicule to which the images are subjected is due to the dread with which the heathen deities still inspired the people; it also shows that monotheism was no longer capable of entering into the spirit of image worship." How far the developed absolute monotheism, where it was not itself endangered by counter-movements, was capable of tolerance towards the heathen religions, is shown, *Malachi i.11, 14.* "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering." "Malachi in the end finds that all the cultus of the heathens is at the bottom intended for the One God."⁴⁴ On the Hellenistic Jewish estimate of heathenism see BOUSSET.⁴⁵ The confession of the Unity of God became the center of Jewish liturgy (the שְׁמַע); it meant "taking upon oneself the yoke of the Sovereignty of God";⁴⁶ it was followed by what must indeed be termed a Confession: "All this is everlastingly true and established with us, that He is the Lord our God, and that there is none beside Him."⁴⁷ The confession שְׁמַע was on the lips of the dying martyr Rabbi Akiba⁴⁸ as of many a martyr after him. With the שְׁמַע the Jew protested against Babylonian and Graeco-Roman polytheism, against Parsi dualism, against Christian trinitarianism. The confession and love of the One God was the first commandment, the greatest of all, in the times of Jesus⁴⁹ as well as ever after, in the system of Judaism. The conception of the Unity of God was deepened ("re-formulated") by our mediæval theologians. SOLOMON IBN GABIROL (about 1050?) sings: "Thou art One, and the mystery of Thy Unity baffles the wisest, for they cannot define it. Thou art One, but not as the one who may be numbered, for neither plurality nor

⁴³ P. 347, esp. note 3. ⁴⁴ Smend, 377. Similarly Wellhausen, *IIG.*, 225.

⁴⁵ P. 170 ff., 294. ⁴⁶ קבלת כל מלכות שמים, *Brakot*, ii. 5.

⁴⁷ אמת ואמונה כל זאת וקיים עליינו כי הוא יהוה אלהינו ואנו לותו, *Evening Service*.

⁴⁸ *Brakot*, 61 b: היה מאיר באהר שד שיצחה נשמותו באחד

⁴⁹ *Mark*, xii, 28 ff.

change nor any attribute can be predicated of Thee. Thou art One, and were I to attempt to place Thee within bound or rule, my imagination would become bewildered. I therefore said, 'I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue.'⁵⁰ Noteworthy is his high conception of religion in all its forms: "Thou art God, and all men are Thy servants and worshipers, nor is Thy honor diminished, because they serve others than Thee, for the intention of all of them is to attain to Thee."⁵¹ MAIMUNI's conception of God's Unity is exactly that of IBN GABIROL. See יסודי התורה, i. 7. It is summed up by KAUFMANN.⁵² "What is really intended by us is just this much, that God is not multiplex. This cannot be expressed positively unless we call Him One. We therefore awaken the most correct conception and come nearest to the truth by saying of God that He is One, but not through oneness."⁵³

(3) HE IS HOLY (TRANSCENDENT).

נִפְאָלָנְסָכָנִיהָ עַנָּה וַיְלֹךְ אֵן : הָרָא אֶלְוָחָד מֵאַתְּ נַסְסָם וְלֹא קְוֹתָה לְנַסְסָם וְלֹא תְּלַחְקָה לְוַאֲנַסָּסָם The third article in MAIMUNI's Creed: "to refrain from ascribing to Him corporeity, that is, to believe that the One God is not a body, nor a force within a body, and that no bodily accidents may be attributed to Him." My selection of the adjective *Holy* (for the negative *Incorporeal*, or for the positive *Spiritual*) in the sense of Transcendent is based on *Isai.* xlvi. 25.⁵⁴ JUDAH HA-LEVI explicitly connects the meaning of Transcendence with the adjective קדוש in the Bible and Prayer Book.⁵⁵ The prophet Hosea

אתה אחד: בתר מלכות⁵⁶ Sfardic ritual for the Eve of the Day of Atonement: ובדור אחריך חכמי ליב יתפחו כי לא ידרשו מה הוא: אתה אחד ולא כאחד הקני ווחמני כי לא ישניך רבי ושנני לא תאר ולא בנו: נלאה הגינוי על בן אמרותי אשמרה דרכי מחתוא בלשוני:

אתה אלה וכל היצורים עבדיך ועובדיך ולא יחכר כבודך בגולל עבורי בלוועריך כי בונת כלם להניע עריך

⁵⁰ P. 424 ff.

⁵² See *Guide*, I, c. 57.

⁵³ לא נשוך אליו קדשו: יndl

⁵⁴ Quoted below; hence in the hymn *Kuzari*, iv. 3: "'Holy' designates that He is too holy and exalted to permit attributing to Him any of the properties of His creatures; if such attributes are used, they are used only figuratively. Hence Isaiah heard an infinite 'Holy, holy, holy' (*Isai.* vi. 3), which simply means that God is too exalted and holy to be affected by any of the impurities of the people

was outspoken in his hostility to image worship, that is, to a representation of Jahve in any visible form. "Elijah and Elisha had nothing to say against the image of the bull in Bethel . . . and the Decalogue of *Exod.* xxxiv. condemns only⁵⁹ molten images."⁶⁰ But Hosea condemns all images as irreconcilable with the innermost essence of religion."⁶¹ Similarly Isaiah.⁶² "In human arrogance and defiance originate also the . . . images . . . They are naught in comparison with the One whose sway over the world is absolute, over against whom the people would, as it were, place those images."⁶³ The Decalogue of *Exod.* xx. turns the preaching of Hosea and Isaiah into an absolute prohibition of image worship.⁶⁴ The deuteronomistic writers lay great stress upon that prohibition. To them, the holy Jahve is above all representation. "That Jahve is not to be represented by images is of the utmost moment to the deuteronomistic writers. Of course, that is still far from denying to Jahve all bodily shape."⁶⁵ The dogma of the Transcendence of God is here in its relative stage, in a provisional formulation. The polemics against the images we meet with again in Deutero-Isaiah. Correspondingly he emphasizes the Incomparability of God. "To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto Him?"⁶⁶ "To whom then will ye liken Me, that I should be equal to him? says the Holy One."⁶⁷ To the writer of the Priests' Code the absolute Transcendence of the Deity is an established dogma. It is presupposed in every line. "The conception of God in the

among whom His glory dwells. And thus he also saw Him seated upon a high and exalted throne, by which is meant the spiritual sanctity which must not be represented in corporeal form and which is free from all that appertains to bodies,"⁶⁸ ואמו קדוש פכנאיות ען אלתנויה ואלהרפייט ען [אן] יליק בה צפה מון צפאת אלמלוקאת ואן סמי בהא עלי אלמנאו ולדך סמע ישחו קדוש קדוש אל מוא [לאן] נהאייך יענין אנה מונזה ומרופע ומוקדם ומבריך ען אין ילהקה ש מון נגנסאת אלאמות אלתי חל נורה פימא בינהם ולדך ראה על כסא רם ונשא פיכני בקדוש ען אלרווחאני אלדי לא יתגנס ולא יתשבה בעאנבה שיממא יתעלק באלמנזמאת. Also iii. 17 with reference to "Thou art Holy" in the Prayer Book.

⁵⁹ The restriction is open to doubt.

⁶⁰ Verse 17.

⁶¹ Smend, 210.

⁶² With whom the appellation "The Holy One" for Jahve is most frequent.

⁶³ Smend, 221.

⁶⁴ See Smend, 284.

⁶⁵ Smend, 278, footnote.

⁶⁶ xl. 18.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

Priests' Code is that of genuine Judaism:⁶⁵ in contrast to the older narrators in the book of Genesis, the author avoids all anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions. In the Priests' Code, God does not swear, nor does He repent anything; nowhere are human essence or human necessity ascribed to Him. He is the absolutely supramundane and self-sufficient Lord. He does not speak to men in dreams; there is no mention of a vision, not even of angels. He appears Himself, but in a mysterious manner, to bless, and to announce His mercy. In an equally mysterious manner He is present upon the lid of the ark. Nor is His government of the world in need of natural mediation: without resistance both nature and the world of man submit to his word and will."⁶⁶ That this "purely supernatural" God was quite near to his worshipers will be shown later (against SMEND and others). BOUSSET devotes a number of pages (302-313) to the doctrine of the transcendence of God in "Late Judaism" both in Palestinian and Alexandrian theology. The old name Jahve has disappeared;⁶⁷ substitutes are introduced, all expressive of the sublime and ineffable character of the Deity. Attributes are multiplied;⁶⁸ or abstract terms are implied: Heaven, the Divine Glory or Majesty, the Divine Presence,⁶⁹ the Word, the Place. Frequently the explicit naming of the Deity is avoided through a turn of the phrase, or change of construction. "Where in any manner the context remains intelligible, the name of God is omitted and the predicate is left without an explicit subject. Similarly, the passive is used for the active, even the plural of the active verb."⁷⁰ Noteworthy is the formula "before God." "It is no more said, 'God wills, God determines, but it is the will before God.'"⁷¹ The transformation in the conception is shown not only in language, but also in the entire world of ideas with which the Deity was surrounded. This is most clear, when we consider the treatment of the ancient sacred tradition in Late Judaism. Much that the ancient tradition had innocently reported of God, traits which are too human—the emphasis placed on passionateness in the Divine character, all that suggests changeableness, the

⁶⁵ That is, in a more adequate formulation. ⁶⁶ Smend, 433 f. ⁶⁷ See above.

⁶⁸ See above, the example of Rabbi Hanina for rabbinic Judaism.

⁶⁹ שׁבִינָה.

⁷⁰ Compare, e. g., the liturgical formula **יהי רצון מלפניך**.

mention of His repentance (sentiment of regret), the conception that God has limbs which may be perceived by sense, that He appears, walks, stands, comes, rests—all that became offensive now, and the Jews applied themselves to the task of so transforming tradition that it in every way corresponded to the new conceptions. Alexandrian Judaism went in this direction much farther than that of Palestine. But there are no fundamental differences to be registered between the two schools. An entire set of such characteristic transformations may be seen, e. g., in the *Book of Jubilees*, the oldest haggadic work on Genesis.⁷¹ Between the promulgation of the Priests' Code and the fixing of the text about 100 of our era, the Scriptural text was manipulated by diaskeuasts with a view to removing or, at least, mitigating objectionable anthropomorphisms. The merit of proving "dogmatic corrections" in our biblical text belongs to ABRAHAM GEIGER.⁷² As the title of the work indicates, the evidence of the versions is gathered there as well. The corrections in Onkelos had been indicated by S. D. LUZZATTO in 1830 (אוחב נר) "The theology of Alexandrian Judaism made it its chief task to transform the anthropomorphic character of the Old Testament⁷³ and by a spiritual interpretation of the letter, to reconcile the letter with the refined taste of its intellectual environment."⁷⁴ In the allegorical method of interpretation⁷⁵ there had been found a convenient means of proving that in those very grossly material expressions and conceptions of Scripture deep mysteries lie hidden. The view of history in the last part of *Wisdom*, the fragments of ARISTOBULUS, PSEUDO-ARISTEAS and, above all, the works of Philo offer innumerable instances. When Gen. vi. 6 it reads: 'And it repented Jahve,' Philo writes his work: *quod deus sit immutabilis.*⁷⁶ 'The

⁷¹ *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, 1857.

⁷² A later monograph on the subject is by S. Maybaum: *Die Anthropomorphismen und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos*, 1870. A monograph on the dogmatic corrections in the Septuagint is still wanting. Material may be found in the works of Größer (Bousset, 49. 312), Frankel (*Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841, 174 ff.; see also the works quoted by Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875, 8) and others. The rabbinic examples should likewise be collected (כביבול etc.). On Philo, Siegfried, *loc. cit.*

⁷³ That is, in its older portions.

⁷⁵ Siegfried, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁴ Add: and time.

⁷⁶ Bousset, 312.

mediaeval theologians simply followed in the line of their illustrious predecessors. Both the theosophic-mystic speculations of the gaonic times concerning the Deity⁷⁷ as well as the Christian dogma of the Incarnation made a new effort necessary for the suppression of all anthropomorphism in the Jewish idea of God. It is needless to quote from IBN GABIROL's poem. The whole introduction sings of the Transcendence of God. JUDAH HA-LEVI defends, or rather excuses, the biblical anthropomorphisms and even those of the theosophic שיטור קומה on the ground of the greater vividness which attaches to sense perception and consequently to imagination and intuition than to the concepts reached by the intellect. Not through speculation, by which the philosophers attain to weak and lifeless abstractions, but through intuition, the greatness, power, mercy, knowledge, life, permanence, dominion of God, the truth that He is in need of nothing, while everything is in need of Him, His unity and holiness, all at once, in one moment, is brought before the eye of the prophet in the form of certain sublime figures.⁷⁸ ABRAHAM IBN DAUD (1160) rejects the literal interpretation of the biblical anthropomorphisms. They are designed for the mass of the people; or they refer to the lower intelligences employed by God as his agencies.⁷⁹ None, however, took the problem up as seriously as Maimuni. The first forty-nine chapters of the first part of his *Guide* are devoted to this subject. "It is true that, from the oldest times, it was the endeavor of the thinkers in Judaism to remove the apparent⁸⁰ anthropomorphism of Scripture in accordance with the requirements of reason;⁸¹ that, from the versions of ONKELOS and JONATHAN, through the series of the gaons, to the highest development of Jewish speculation, the polemics against ascribing to the Deity bodily form constitute one unbroken chain; that all our philosophers without exception did all in their power

⁷⁷ E. g., those of the שיטור קומה which, while engaged in outlining the Infinity of God which is above all human conceptions (so according to Karppe, *Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, 1901, 93 ff.), employ grossly materialistic measurements for which the Jewish theologians were taunted by Mohammedans and Karaites (Kaufmann, 86 ff.). ⁷⁸ Kaufmann, 219 f.

⁷⁹ Kaufmann, 359 f. ⁸⁰ The expression is incorrect for the older parts.

⁸¹ Rather: of the developed notion of the Deity.

to put out of the way everything which might tend to give support to that pernicious notion; that all of them were unanimous in the opinion that it is impossible for the human mind to form an adequate notion of an attribute descriptive of the essence of the Deity; yet the labors of the thinkers had not sufficiently penetrated the popular consciousness; corporeal notions concerning the Deity were by no means an impossibility, but quite frequent and widely spread; the letter of Scripture, in spite of the strenuous efforts at transformation and allegorical interpretation, which had been going on for centuries, was still asserting itself on the minds of the people so that there were some who refused to give up the literal meaning and charged all those who dared to doubt it with heresy. Not only the masses who naturally always cling to the grossly material, but even students of the Jewish law, in so far as they had not given their time to philosophical studies, were held captive by the old, seeming ineradicable notion.”⁸² Of course, they believed that they were guarding the authority of the Scriptural word in its literalness.⁸³ “These sad phenomena induced MAIMUNI to write his ‘Guide of the Perplexed,’ a work which the times seemed to demand and which truly could brook no delay.” In his Code⁸⁴ he declares those who ascribe to God bodily shape as excommunicated from membership in the Jewish Church. On the storm which that declaration provoked see KAUFMANN.⁸⁵ But MAIMUNI’s doctrine of the Transcendence of God prevailed. “The sway of anthropomorphisms was put an end to; the idea of God was purified and the effects were discernible far and wide.” A hundred years after the death of Maimuni, JEDAIAH PENINI wrote to the rabbinic authority SOLOMON IBN ADRET that “that evil belief in the bodily form of God had been rooted out of all sections of Jewry.” “Such anthropomorphisms as had been freely given expression to before MAIMUNI, were soon regarded as blasphemies; except in circles influenced by the Kabbala, corporeal notions of the Deity came to be an utter impossibility among Jews.”⁸⁶ BERNFELD⁸⁷ points out

⁸² Kaufmann, 484 f.

⁸³ פשׁן Somewhere else I hope to show that we were slow in learning to understand just what the literal meaning is and how it is to be obtained.

⁸⁴ תשובה, iii. 7. ⁸⁵ P. 487 ff. ⁸⁶ Kaufmann, 498. ⁸⁷ i. 256, footnote.

how MAIMUNI was devoid of all poetic sentiment; he contrasts the religious poetry of SOLOMON IBN GABIROL and JUDAH HA-LEVI, which, "though, in general, representing the philosophical system of MAIMUNI, leaves room for enthusiasm." The kabbalistic speculations are thus seen in the light of a necessary reaction, a revolt of sentiment against reason, of heart against head. Still the attitude of official Judaism may be said to have been in the line of MAIMUNI'S declaration against all anthropomorphism.

B. COSMOLOGY (doctrines concerning the world in its relation to God) : (4) THE WORLD WAS CREATED, AND IS SUSTAINED, BY GOD.

According to MAIMUNI's formulation of the fourth article of his Creed,⁸⁸ it ought to be placed under the heading of Theology. But the divisions adopted here are necessarily far from rigid; they run into one another; in point of fact, the whole Creed is Theology, for whatever we say of the world or of man derives its religious character only from its relation to the center, to God. How old is the conception of Jahve as Creator of heaven and earth? The biblical cosmogonic conceptions have of late received a great deal of attention in their relation to, and perhaps dependence upon, non-Israelitic, notably Babylonian, accounts of creation.⁸⁹ We shall be satisfied with quoting GUNKEL:⁹⁰ "In this province also the one-sidedness of our modern critics, who are solely concerned with the analysis of the literary documents, has done mischief, by denying high antiquity to the idea of creation simply because it is found in the older prophets rarely or not at all, while it plays so important a part in Deutero-Isaiah. But the older prophets speak of the nearest future of Israel and not of cosmology, or of primitive legends; the 'dogma of creation' is indeed ancient, but it is quite true that only at a certain period did the great political prophets take hold of it; it is then that this dogma which heretofore had had no particular value for

⁸⁸ אלףם ורלך אן ח'ר'א אלאחד אלמושׁוף ה'ו אלקרויים עלי לאטלאק וכ'ל מונזר נירה that is: He is the absolutely First, Eternal.

⁸⁹ For our present purpose we may limit ourselves to the following works: Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895; *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt*, 2, 1902; Zimmern, *KAT.*, 488 ff.; also Zapletal, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Genesis*, 1902.

⁹⁰ *Genesis*, 109 f.

practical religion assumed an immense significance; see 'Shöpfung und Chaos,' p. 156 ff. We thus conclude from the extant material that the tradition underlying *Genesis* i, though in a different form, must have existed in very ancient times." We may say that the cosmogonic conceptions belong to the oldest stock of religious beliefs associated with Jahvism and that, from the very beginning, all theogonic elements were rigidly excluded, while the religious *motif* underlying the cosmological hymns, even in their mythological form, the praise of the power and goodness of the Creator, was studiously retained. The importance which Deutero-Isaiah attaches to the idea of creation has been adverted to.⁹¹ Jahve, that is, God, the One; Jahve, the Holy One; Jahve, the Creator—those are for Deutero-Isaiah but aspects of one and the same truth. "God created the world with the ease of play, as it were . . . at His command everything came into existence, as at His word the great host of stars (the supposed heathen deities) is daily mustered, none dares to remain away."⁹² Deutero-Isaiah asks his readers, Who else but Jahve is the author of the World?⁹³ He tells them that they have known it all the time.⁹⁴ Indeed, the question concerning the origin of the world had presented itself long ago; it goes without saying that the answer was, Jahve is the author of the world. But only when the national glory of Israel had been destroyed, did the creation of the world by Jahve and his dominion of it become an important religious truth, the necessary correlative of Jahve's universal dominion in history."⁹⁵ "Jahve's is the earth and the fulness thereof," sings the Psalmist;⁹⁶ "the world and they that dwell therein." "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handiwork."⁹⁷ *Ps. civ* is one great, glorious hymn to God, the Creator and Sustainer of the world. Of the first chapter of *Genesis* SMEND says that it gives expression to the specifically Jewish belief in creation in its peculiar sublimity. "The world as the scene of God's disposition of historical events is not only absolutely in His power, but He has also established it from the very beginning just for that end. Everything came into being,

⁹¹ See above.

⁹² xl. 26.

⁹³ xl. 12, 26.

⁹⁴ xl. 21.

⁹⁵ Smend, 348 f.

⁹⁶ xxiv. 1.

⁹⁷ Ps. xix. 2.

because God so willed it, and by His word, by which He directs history, He has also made the world. At His command the things came into existence, and that at once in perfect form, *i. e.*, just as He wished them. He gave them their names and thus fixed their task and position in the world. Thus the world is but a means to an end.”⁹⁸ The religious content of the chapter is summed up by ZAPLETAL⁹⁹ in the following words: “This world was created by God; and by Him alone, without the aid of a demiurge. He created it by His mere word, that is, He did not need to work hard as the demiurges of the heathen cosmogonies. Hence it also follows that the world corresponds to His will. . . . The account of the creation . . . is probably also intended for apologetic purposes. Among the neighbors of Israel, the sun, moon, and all sorts of stars were worshiped as gods; the Israelites are told in *Gen.* i. that all of them are but the work of Elohim. Also animals, plants and other creatures had in the Orient their worshipers; the Israelites are here taught that all of them are but things which came into being by the word of Elohim.” On the other hand, it is quite correctly emphasized by GUNKEL that the author of *Genesis* i. attached some importance to the scientific side of his effort, scientific, of course, for his time. Nor did he succeed in emancipating himself quite completely from certain mythological conceptions. Thus the primeval chaos, the *ἄμωρφος νῦν*,¹⁰⁰ remained.¹⁰¹ The importance attached to the dogma of creation in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings is dwelt upon by BOUSSET.¹⁰² “In the Hellenistic literature, the idea of creation occupies a more central place than in Palestinian Judaism. The belief in the One Invisible Spiritual God who, Himself uncreated, produced this visible created world out of Himself is the most essential point in the missionary teaching of Alexandrine Judaism. The entire philosophy of PHILO is centered in this thought that the visible world originates in the spiritual essence of the Eternal God which transcends the senses,

⁹⁸ P. 435.

⁹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, 67 f.

¹⁰⁰ *Wisd.* xi. 18.

¹⁰¹ Gunkel (*Genesis*, 90) finds the the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* in *II Maccab.* vii. 28; *Hebr.* xi. 3. But the opinion is subject to doubt (Smend, 437, footnote 1; Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 6, 1897, 284 footnote).

¹⁰² P. 295.

nay, even thought. The cosmological argument is repeated again and again in his works."¹⁰⁵ In the Prayer Book, God is praised as the Creator of the universe¹⁰⁴ "who by his kindness, continually reneweth, day by day, the work of creation;"¹⁰⁵ he is the King of the world.¹⁰⁶ The mystery of creation was a subject for speculation among the theosophically inclined rabbis.¹⁰⁷ The Jewish doctrine of creation is stated by MAIMUNI¹⁰⁸ as follows: "The opinion of all those who believe in the law of Moses, our teacher, is that the world, in its totality, that is to say, every being with the exception of God, was made existent by God out of the pure and absolute nothing;¹⁰⁹ that (in the beginning) there existed God alone and nothing beside Him, neither angel, nor sphere, nor whatever is in the celestial sphere; whereupon He brought into existence all these things, such as they are, by His free will, and out of nothing;¹¹⁰ lastly, that time itself was among the things created. . . . This is then one of the (three) opinions; it indubitably forms a fundamental principle of the Law of Moses (of Judaism), second in importance only to the dogma of the Unity (הָאֶחָדָה קָדוֹשָׁה וְתָנוּנָה אֱלֹהִים)."¹¹¹ The doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* was combated by LEVI BEN GERSHON in the fourteenth century;¹¹² his view on the subject is really a compromise.¹¹³ Similarly JUDAH HA-LEVI¹¹⁴ thinks that belief in uncreated matter, the *shay*, is consonant with Judaism.

C. ANTHROPOLOGY (doctrines concerning man in his relation to, and intercourse with, God): (5) MAN WAS CREATED IN THE IMAGE OF GOD.

The fifth article in MAIMUNI's Creed is formulated as follows:

אנָה תַּעֲלֵי הוּא אֱלֹהִים יְבָנֵי אָן יַעֲבֹר וַיַּעֲטֵם וַיַּעֲלֵן בַּחֲטַאתָה וְטָעַתָּה וְלֹא יַפְعֵל דָּלָק רְדָנָה פִּי אַלְנָזָר . . . וְלֹא תַחֲכֵד וְסָאֵט לְלַחְזֵל אֱלֹהִים בְּלֹא נַחֲזֵה תַּעֲלֵי תְּקַצֵּד אַלְפְּכָאָר

Negatively expressed, the doctrine amounts to a repudiation of the aid of intermediaries, like angels, etc., whose existence, by the way,

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 295 f.

¹⁰⁴ בָּרוּא אֶת הָכָלָה

¹⁰⁶ המחרש בטובו בכל יום חמיר משעה בראשית

¹⁰⁵ מלך העולם

¹⁰⁷ בעד אלעדם אלמחץ אלמלתק¹⁰⁸ *Guide*, II, c. 13.

¹⁰⁹ *Hagig.* 11 b ff. ¹⁰⁸ *Guide*, II, c. 13.

¹¹⁰ לא מון שי. ¹¹¹ See also *ibid.*, c. 25 ff. ¹¹² *Milchamot ha-Shem*, book vi, part 2.

¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ See Bernfeld's exposition, 424-429. *Kusari*, i. 67.

is not denied; ¹¹⁵ in positive terms it means that the true service of God consists in direct communion with Him. This dogma might be placed under Theology and be formulated: He is near unto man. But, inasmuch as man enters into the statement, we shall do better if we place the articles under Anthropology; we furthermore choose the formulation as in the heading for the reason that God's nearness to man and man's ability to commune with God imply a fundamental principle in the nature of man, namely his kinship to God. In Hebrew: *שהארם נברא בצלם אלהים ושלכן השם יתברך קרוב לкорאים כל ביל אלmessch*. We are at once reminded of *Gen. i. 27*. GUNKEL writes: ¹¹⁶ "The idea is not that man was created in the image of the One God (Jahve) ('in my image'), but in that of the beings ('in our image') *Ps. viii. 6*: he is 'the world's little God.' Although this thought must not be given too lofty a signification, this idea of man's similitude to the *אללים* is nevertheless, in the opinion of the Author of *Gen. i.*, something very extraordinary." GUNKEL proceeds to inquire wherein this likeness to God consists. "The author says nothing about it, since he regards the matter as obvious; but what his thoughts on the subject are is quite clear from v. 1-3, the continuation of the account of creation in P: God created Adam in his own likeness; Adam begat Seth in his own likeness. The second sentence is clear beyond doubt: the son looks like his father, he is like him in form and appearance. Accordingly the first sentence should be interpreted to mean: the first man was like God in form and appearance. That the likeness to God was so understood by P is shown ix.6: Whoso sheddeth man's blood, attacks in man the image of God. Accordingly, this likeness to God refers in the first instance to the body, although the mind is by no means ignored."¹¹⁷ I think that GUNKEL will

¹¹⁵ Spiritualized in the *Guide*, I, c. 49; II, 6 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Gensis*, 98.

¹¹⁷ See the references to Greek and Babylonian conceptions; to the anthropomorphisms in the Old Testament: "the thought of the incorporeity of God transcends the horizon of the Old Testament writers." But by the side of the anthropomorphic conceptions there is noticeable in Israel "already in ancient times another current." Gunkel adduces the evidences for the ascendancy of transcendental conceptions and quotes Holzinger, *Hexateuch*, 380, to the effect that P in particular avoids anthropomorphisms as much as possible.

assent to the following restatement. Back of the thought that man was created in the image of celestial beings there is undoubtedly an ancient mythological conception; that the gross anthropomorphism which it implies could not have been shared by the writer of the chapter is quite clear from the fact that "P in particular avoids anthropomorphisms as much as possible." Furthermore, v. 1-3, adduced by GUNKEL, proves nothing. The phrase may have had a different meaning for P there. What P wishes to say is that all humanity, notwithstanding the many differences, is a unit, descended from one pair—a religious thought of the import of which P was perhaps not quite conscious.¹¹⁸ Adam in c. i., and certainly ix. 6, means man collectively (in c. i. a personification; in ix. 6 any individual as a human being). When the writer says that Adam was created in the image of God he means that man collectively (that is, all human beings) is distinguished as akin to the divine, celestial beings. I think, GUNKEL notwithstanding, that *Ps.* viii. 6 ff. understood P or P's source quite correctly. That man's dominion over the earth is the subject of a special blessing (an explicit statement of what is implied in the conception of the image of God) should not trouble an exegete who can see further than just the verse he is interpreting. I believe that both P and the Psalmist are supremely conscious of the dignity of man which he derives from his kinship to beings which are above earth. At any rate, the thought, once enunciated, was bound to transcend all relativity and tend to assume its absolute form. SMEND's exposition¹¹⁹ is certainly nearer the truth than GUNKEL'S. The thought that the world was created only for history as directed by God finds its completion in the idea that man was created in the image of God. Man's likeness to God which, it must be admitted, is conceived also as corporeal (v. 3) means his mental powers which lift him above the animal and fit him for dominion over the world. It furthermore signifies the capacity of entering into communion with God and of acting in accordance with His will, and, lastly, the singular dignity which he alone in creation possesses. Hence follows for him the duty of ruling over the world in accord-

¹¹⁸ See Ben Azzai's exposition further on.

¹¹⁹ P. 439 f.

ance with the Divine will and of guarding and respecting the Divine dignity in himself as well as in his fellow-men. The Jew confronts the world and nature with sovereign self-consciousness—he knows not what it is to dread the world—but also with the sense of supreme responsibility. Such is the practical consequence of the prophetic faith in the government of the world by the One God. As God's vicegerent, man may and shall subject to himself the entire world, but only as such. He must not follow his arbitrary caprice, but solely the revealed will of God.¹²⁰ "Beloved is man," Rabbi Akiba is reported to have said,¹²¹ "for he was created in the Image." Ben Azzai's exposition of *Gen.* v. 1 to which I have adverted is found in *Sifra*¹²² and runs as follows: "'And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself': Rabbi Akiba says, This is the greatest law¹²³ (under which, therefore, all particular laws relating to our conduct towards our fellow-men are subsumed) in the Law; Ben Azzai says, 'This is the book of the genealogy of Adam,' that is a still more general law."¹²⁴ That for MAIMUNI that which constitutes man's likeness to God should consist in the faculty of reason with which he is endowed, goes without saying.¹²⁵ Interesting is IBN EZRA'S (twelfth century) remark on *Gen.* i. 26: "Also on account of the highest soul of man which is immortal and, because of its immortality, is likened to God; nor is it corporeal, although it penetrates the whole body;¹²⁶ now the body of man is like a microcosm;¹²⁷ blessed be God who 'began at the greater (the macrocosm), and left at the smaller';¹²⁸ moreover the prophet (Ezekiel) said¹²⁹ that he saw the glory of God 'as the appearance of a man;' now God is the One, and He is the Creator of the All, and He is the All; but I am not in a position to make myself clearer."¹³⁰

A more pessimistic view concerning the nature of man, coupled with the scarcely veiled heathenish thought of the jealous disposi-

¹²⁰ On the eschatological consequences see under Eschatology.

¹²¹ *Abot* iii. 14. ¹²² קְדוּשָׁם c. iv. (on *Levit.* xix. 18). ¹²³ כָּל נָרוֹת.

¹²⁴ See Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judenthums*, 1899, §144. ¹²⁵ See *Guide*, I, c. 1.

¹²⁶ וְהִיא מֶלֶא כָּל שָׁלָם קְטוּן. ¹²⁷ Gen. xliv. 12.

¹²⁸ וְהַשֵּׁם הוּא הַאֲחֵר וְהִוא יֹצֵר הַכָּל וְהִוא אָכוֹל לְפָרֵשׂ. ¹²⁹ i. 26.

tion of the Deity,¹³¹ prevails in the Jahvistic account of the creation of man and his expulsion from Paradise in *Gen.* c. ii. f. It finds its expression in the words of another Jahvist writer:¹³² "Whatever man's heart thinks and plans is only evil continually, from his youth."¹³³ But even the more advanced religious thought of the times which produced Job and the Psalms speaks of the natural sinfulness of man almost in dogmatic terms. "Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker? Behold, He putteth no trust in His servants; and His angels He chargeth with folly: how much more them that dwell in houses of clay."¹³⁴ "What is man, that he should be clean? and he who is born of woman, that he should be righteous? Behold, He putteth no trust in His holy ones; yea, the heavens are not clean in His sight. How much less one that is abominable and corrupt, a man that drinketh iniquity like water."¹³⁵ "How can a man be just with God, or how can he be clean that is born of a woman? Behold even the moon hath no brightness, and the stars are not pure in His sight: how much less man, that is a worm! and the son of man, who is a worm!"¹³⁶ This consciousness of the innate sinfulness of man which, in its higher and deeper character, was the consequence of the constant call to repentance on the part of the prophets and which ever after deepened Jewish piety, this sense of dependence upon the mercy and good-will of God, this low estimate of man—"for there is no man that sinneth not"—is voiced in the Prayer Book. "What are we? what is our life? what our devotion? what our righteousness? what our help? what our strength and what our power? What can we say before Thee, O Lord, our God, and the God of our fathers? Are not all the mighty as naught before Thee, and the men of renown as though they had never been; the wise as if without wisdom, and the men of under-

¹³¹ See *Gen.* iii. 22.

¹³² *Gen.* vi. 5; viii. 21.

¹³³ The text of *Gen.* iv. 7, is hopelessly corrupt; see the commentaries; but the end, even if spurious (that is, not from the pen of the Jahvistic writer, but of some editor or diaskeust), was bound to become fruitful in later times.

¹³⁴ *Job* iv. 17 ff.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, xv. 14-16.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, xxv. 4-6. See also *ibid.*, xiii. 25 f; xiv. 3 ff. With the latter passage goes *Ps.* li. 7.

standing as if without discernment? For the multitude of their deeds is as empty as the primeval void, and their life is vanity before Thee. Indeed, the superiority of man over animal is naught, for all is vanity."¹⁸⁷

The innate sinfulness of man is almost hypostatized in the *יצר* of rabbinic theology, which, we know now, ascends into the times of Sirach (second century B. C.). The following account is based on the thoroughgoing study by Prof. F. C. PORTER.¹⁸⁸ It seems that there is an older and a more recent conception. The former understands by *יצר* without further qualification the natural impulse to evil to which God has given over man, but which it is man's duty to conquer.¹⁸⁹ The latter conception specifies the evil impulse as the *יצר רע* and opposes to it the impulse to good, the *יצר טוב*. The developed doctrine of the rabbis is summed up by Porter as follows: "The result of our review is that in rabbinical usage the *yeṣer* is hardly other than a name for man's evil tendencies or inclinations, the evil disposition which as a matter of experience exists in man, and which it is his moral task to subdue or control. It does not contain a metaphysical explanation of the fact, a theory as to its source and nature. These evil inclinations go all the way up from sensual passions through anger and revenge to various forms of selfishness such as greed, deceit, and pride, and on the other hand to religious unbelief and idolatry. These propensities are deeply implanted in man's nature and are not due to his will, though the will can rule over them. They must, therefore, in a monotheistic view of the world, be ascribed to God's creation. Moreover, at almost every stage it can be seen that these inclinations are not wholly evil, but are in some sense necessary to human life and progress. Not only the impulse that aims at the continuance of the race, but also a measure of self-assertion, and even of anger and other passionate impulses, though they easily overmaster men and lead them to sin, are yet necessary to the life and progress of humanity in this

¹⁸⁷ *Closing Prayer*, Day of Atonement; was Ulla bar Rab the author? See *Ioma* 87 b; at any rate it is a prayer of rabbinic times.

¹⁸⁸ "The Yeṣer Hara: A Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, *Yale Bicentennial Publications*, 1902, 91-156.

¹⁸⁹ See *Eccl*. xv. 12 ff.

world.¹⁴⁰ But though a theodicy can (not?) rest on such considerations, the moral task of man is to control these impulses of his nature. For this end man has full freedom and is wholly responsible.¹⁴¹ Moreover, God has implanted good impulses and inclinations in men, to which they can, if they will, give the upper hand. God, however, has provided a definite remedy in the Law.¹⁴² Against one who studies and observes its precepts the evil impulse has little power. Further, in answer to prayer,¹⁴³ the help of God may be gained in this struggle, which always remains a severe and uncertain one.¹⁴⁴ Men are sustained in this warfare by the belief that there is another world in which the evil impulse does not exist, and that the righteous enter this world after death, and that, hereafter, in the Messianic age, the powers and qualities of heaven will have exclusive dominance." Both the evil and good impulse, it is brought out conclusively by Porter, have their seat in the whole man. There is no trace in early or late rabbinic theology of the Philonian and Pauline distinction between matter, or the flesh, as the seat of sin, and spirit, or the soul, with which goes freedom from sin. LAZARUS'S¹⁴⁵ treatment of the subject, except for his identification of the Law with the moral law,¹⁴⁶ is accepted by PORTER. "When we turn to a consideration of human nature in particular, we find that it is nowhere regarded as innately unholy, impure and evil. . . . But the idea that man's natural impulse is dual, that from the outset¹⁴⁷ the good impulse is found side by side with the evil one does not constitute the most important part in the rabbinical view of man; much more general and telling is the thought: 'God created the evil impulse, but he also created the Torah, ethics, as a spice (medicament) over against it' (Kidushin 30 b, B. bathra 16 a) . . . The Jewish view of the world in general, and Jewish ethics in particular, is

¹⁴⁰ See below the quotation from *Genesis rabb.*, c. ix: "Is the evil yeṣer then very good? Certainly, for without it man would not build a house, nor marry nor beget children nor engage in trade, as it says (*Eccles.* iv. 4): 'Then I saw all labor and every skilful work, that it is the zeal (rivalry) of one against another.'

¹⁴¹ See below under article 8.

¹⁴² See under article 7.

¹⁴³ See the quotations from the Prayer Book below.

¹⁴⁴ See below under article 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*, §238 ff.

¹⁴⁶ On this see under article 7.

¹⁴⁷ See above.

everywhere grounded upon the actuality of existence and directed towards the actualization of the idea; in both, however, we meet always with soul and body in connection and in common activity."

The possibility of man's communion with God is apparently guaranteed by the doctrine that he is created in the image of God. On this doctrine, as on a corner-stone, rests Jewish ethics; on this its chief theory, that of the perfectibility of man. Though God be infinitely pure, there is just a little of the Divine in man to urge him on to approximation to the ideal, to the *imitatio Dei*.¹⁴⁸ The standard passage is *Mkilata* on *Exod.* xv. 2:¹⁴⁹ "I will be like Him:¹⁵⁰ as He is merciful and gracious, so be thou merciful and gracious."¹⁵¹

The second part of the article as framed above in Hebrew with a conscious leaning on MAIMUNI partakes more of a theological than of an anthropological character; for it resolves itself into a doctrine concerning God in His relation to, and intercourse with, the world, but especially man. The Jewish conception of God has steered clear between a Deity lost in the world, or in man, and a Deity altogether outside the world and its concerns, or man and his concerns. To the Jew, God is at once far and near: "for thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit."¹⁵² "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon Him, that call upon Him in truth."¹⁵³ "To be near unto God"¹⁵⁴ is the aim of the worshiper; "to be near unto God" is the *summum bonum* of the Psalmist.¹⁵⁵ "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee. My flesh and

¹⁴⁸ Upon which Schechter repeatedly dwells, see *JQR.*, 8 (1895), 4; 10 (1897), 1, 2, 4.

¹⁴⁹ P. *Peah* 15 b; b. *Sabbat* 133 b; *Sofrim* iii. 13; *Sefer Torah* iii. 10.

¹⁵⁰ See Rashi *Sabbat* 133 b s. v. *הוי דומה*.

¹⁵¹ See also *Sifre*, בְּקֻשׁ, sect. 49: "As God is called merciful and gracious, so be thou merciful and gracious; as God is called righteous, so be thou righteous; as God is called kind (צַדִּיק, *pious*), so be thou kind"; *Sifra*, שְׁמָנִין c. 12: "As I am holy, so be ye holy; as I am separated, so be ye separated (פְּרוֹשִׁים, *Proisim*)" (here, however, Israel is addressed), and the other passages adduced by Schechter. ¹⁵² *Isai.* lvii. 15. ¹⁵³ *Ps.* cxlv. 18.

¹⁵⁴ *Isai.* lviii. 2; see Duhm.

¹⁵⁵ *Ps.* lxxiii. 28.

my heart faileth: but God is my portion forever."¹⁵⁶ The Jew feels the nearness of God; but he will neither humanize the Deity, nor deify himself. The Targum or the Greek Bible may paraphrase such expressions as might be taken by the people at large in their literal sense;¹⁵⁷ but that by no means proves that they were strangers to the spiritual experience of the nearness of God, of true communion with Him. To the rabbis, "God is near in every manner of nearness."¹⁵⁸ SCHECHTER rightly says: "Foreign metaphysics and theosophies, which crept into the schools, as well as angels of doubtful origin, which pleased the phantasy, but from which Judaism would have turned with abhorrence had it been conscious of their dogmatic consequences, facilitated this hypostatizing work." He refers to the hypostatization of expressions, like the Word, etc., which were intended merely for softening down anthropomorphisms. To be sure, late as well as early rabbinic Judaism has a rich angelology and demonology; it is immaterial for our purpose whence they came, for, even if imported, they had become thoroughly assimilated; but, after all, angels and demons belonged more to the folk religion and were easily and resolutely brushed aside, as soon as it became apparent that they might become dangerous to the monotheistic idea. As SCHECHTER continues: "But amidst all these inconveniences, contradictions, confusions and aberrations, the great principle of the Synagogue, that worship is only due to God, remained unchanged. Into the liturgy none of the stranger appellations of God were admitted. 'When man is in distress,' says R. Judah, 'he does not first call upon his patron, but seeks admittance to him through the medium of his servant or his agent; but it is different with God. Let no man in misfortune cry either unto Michael or Gabriel, but pray unto Me (God), and I will answer him at once, as it said: Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be delivered.'"¹⁵⁹ And so MAIMUNI, although he believes in the existence of angels (to whom, however, he does not ascribe bodily form), formulates his fifth article¹⁶⁰ so as to eliminate all mediatory offices

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 f.

¹⁵⁷ See e. g., Targum *Isai.* lvii. 15; LXX *Ps.* lxiii. 28.

¹⁵⁸ קרוב בכל מני קרבות, p. *Brakot* 13 a. See for further examples from rabbinic literature Schechter, *JQR*, 6 (1894), 417 ff.

¹⁵⁹ *Joel* ii. 32.

¹⁶⁰ See above.

in the communion of God. To invoke the aid of intermediaries is idolatry. This attitude remained the correct Jewish one in all strictly rabbinical circles except those under the influence of kabbalistic theosophy. While in the folk religion the "intercessor angel" was here and there appealed to, while the accusing angel found his way into mediæval liturgical productions, the genuine rabbinic sentiment protested against any liturgical pieces in which poetic freedom might become the cause of misunderstanding.¹⁶¹

(6) SELECT INDIVIDUALS ARE, FROM TIME TO TIME, CALLED BY GOD AS PROPHETS AND CHARGED WITH THE MISSION OF DECLARING HIS WILL UNTO MEN.

The sixth article of MAIMUNI's Creed.¹⁶² We include in our sixth article also MAIMUNI's seventh in which Moses is proclaimed as the chief of prophets; for the two certainly go together, although for reasons to be set forth later the second was considered by Maimuni of sufficient importance to stand by itself as a distinct and separate dogma. Observe that, according to Maimuni, the gift of prophecy is not limited to Israel; it is for the select among humankind in general;¹⁶³ Moses, of course, was then the most perfect man.¹⁶⁴ The biblical doctrine concerning the nature and function of prophecy may be found in the reflections of the prophets themselves, and in theories developed in circles not necessarily prophetic and sometimes formulated as laws for the regulation of prophecy as an institution. Reflection, we have had occasion to remark, is very often the result of conflicting opinions. The oldest and correspondingly naive reflection we find in the legendary, but not untrustworthy account of the encounter between Zedekiah ben Chenaanah and Micaiah ben Imlah.¹⁶⁵ When the latter is brought before Ahab, and adjured to "speak nothing but the truth in the name of Jahve," announces, in contrast to the optimistic predictions by Zedekiah and his fellow-prophets, the unsuccessful end of the battle and the death of the

¹⁶¹ E. g., the *piut* at the close of the Day of Atonement in which one of the stanzas begins, "מודת הרחמים עליינו התגלגלי," "O Divine Mercy, plead for us!"

¹⁶² אלנבוֹת ורַלְך בָּאֵן יְעַלְם אֶן הָרָא אַלְנוּעַ אַלְאַנְסָאַנִי קָדְרוֹנְד פֵּיה . . . וְאַוְלָאַד חָם אַלְאַנְבָּיא.

¹⁶³ וְהוּ צָפֵי אֱלֹהָה מִן נְמִיעַ אַנְעַט אַלְאַנְסָאַנִי.

¹⁶⁴ I Kings xxii.

king, he meets the king's taunt that he expected no good prophecy from him with the following words: "Therefore hear thou the word of Jahve: I saw Jahve sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right hand and on His left. And Jahve said, Who shall deceive Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth the spirit, and stood before Jahve, and said, I will deceive him. And Jahve said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And Jahve said, Thou shalt deceive him, and shalt prevail also: go forth, and do so. Now, therefore, behold, Jahve hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and Jahve hath spoken evil concerning thee."¹⁶⁶ Hence it is the spirit—hypostatized in this passage as one among the host of heaven—which communicates to the prophet the will and word of God. It is unnecessary to quote here other Biblical passages which bring the Divine spirit into connection with prophecy (hence the word Inspiration).¹⁶⁷ But it should be noted that Micaiah does not appear to be dependent upon the spirit; in any case, his is the truthful spirit. There are prophets and prophets; the true prophet, in his struggle with the world and those whom he considers as false prophets, becomes conscious of the *differentia*, and he must, as he proceeds to reflect, find it in his own personality. Amos, who repudiates the title "prophet" when by it is implied that he is on a level with the prophets about the royal temple who live upon the charitable gifts of the people,¹⁶⁸ knows that the prophet's answer to the Divine call partakes of the nature of necessity. "The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord Jahve hath spoken, who can but prophesy?"¹⁶⁹ No evil befalls a city, unless it is done by Jahve; and Jahve does nothing without revealing (*הָנַן*) his counsel to his servants the prophets.¹⁷⁰ The prophet is therefore a premonitor of evil, a danger alarm.¹⁷⁰ "I am a herdman, and a dresser of syca-

¹⁶⁶ Verses 19-23.

¹⁶⁷ See Smend, 422 f.

¹⁶⁸ vii. 12 ff.

¹⁶⁹ iii. 8. I do not accept Wellhausen's emendation, *Skizzen*, V (1893), 75; verse 7, although a correct exposition of the preceding verse, is apparently interpolated.

¹⁷⁰ Similarly *Ezek.* xxxiii. 2-9; the prophet is "a watchman unto the house of Israel."

more trees: and Jahve took me from following the flock, and Jahve said unto me. Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.¹⁷¹ And so it is with Isaiah: "in the sixth chapter of Isaiah the importance of which is sufficiently indicated by the subsequent imitations of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the prophetic activity is not described as an aggregate of sudden, unconnected affections on the part of the Deity, but is rather represented as the exercise in accordance with duty of a personal calling into which Isaiah is placed once for all, once he has offered his services. Amos conceived his activity as a mission; Isaiah draws the consequence and so regards his own as a calling. Amos separated himself from the professional prophets; Isaiah supplements Amos on the positive side and is on the way to found a new prophetic order on an ethical basis."¹⁷² Impartial truthfulness and moral courage "to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin" are the tests by which Micah¹⁷³ knows himself as a true prophet, distinct from his *confrères* "who divine for money." No one has given a sublimer expression to the conflict in the prophet's bosom between recoil from a profitless task which brings nothing but taunts and the relentless command of duty, than Jeremiah. "O Jahve, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed. I am become a laughing-stock all the day, every one mocketh me. For as often as I speak, I cry out; I cry, Violence and spoil: because the word of Jahve is made a reproach unto me, and a derision, all the day. And if I say, I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name, then He is in mine heart like burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain."¹⁷⁴ In the name of Jeremiah and, apparently with some genuine Jeremianic *motifs*,¹⁷⁵ there is preserved a diatribe against the pseudo-prophets in cxxiii. 16 ff. The true word of Jahve¹⁷⁶ is the preaching of repentance;¹⁷⁷ the prophecy of peace¹⁷⁸ is falsehood.¹⁷⁹ The true prophet alone has truly stood in the counsel (*ר'ס*) of Jahve;¹⁸⁰

¹⁷¹ Amos vii. 14 f.¹⁷² Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875, 83.¹⁷³ iii. 5 ff.¹⁷⁴ xx. 7-9.¹⁷⁵ See my forthcoming publication on the "Deuteronomic Phraseology in the Book of Jeremiah."¹⁷⁶ Verse 28. ¹⁷⁷ Verse 22 b. ¹⁷⁸ Verse 17. ¹⁷⁹ Verses 16, 26. ¹⁸⁰ Verse 22.

the lying prophets appeal to dreams¹⁸¹ which, in addition, they steal from one another.¹⁸² "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What has the straw to do with the wheat?"¹⁸³ The canon xxviii. 8 f.¹⁸⁴ according to which the prophets of evil (and, naturally, of repentance) need no legitimization, while the prophet of peace must await recognition until the time when his prediction becomes true, substantially agrees with that in *Deut.* xviii. 21 f.; they are both products of allied circles.

Of a theorizing nature is, besides the chapter from Deuteronomy just quoted, *Num.* xii. where, in the form of a narrative, a contrast is drawn between the ordinary prophet to whom Jahve makes himself known in a vision or to whom He speaks in a dream, and Moses. "My servant Moses is not so; he is faithful (trustworthy, the trusted servant who has access to all parts of his master's house and who is the confidant of his master) in all mine house; with him do I speak mouth to mouth, neither¹⁸⁵ in a vision, nor in dark speeches; the form of Jahve does he behold."¹⁸⁶ The E document, contemporary with the prophetic movement which produced Amos and Hosea, sees, no less than Hosea,¹⁸⁷ in Moses a prophet of the type of Amos and Hosea, one, though not necessarily the greatest, of the prophets. In the light of the evidence adduced above from the reflections of the prophets themselves, our interpretation of the passage in *Numbers* seems to be the only admissible one. Nor does the conception of the deuteronomistic writer,¹⁸⁸ *Deut.* xviii. 9 ff., differ. The writer, speaking *e persona Mosis*, prohibits all manner of divination and demands absolute devotion to Jahve.¹⁸⁹ Yet he would not leave the people without legitimate means of communication with the Deity. The prophet, among Israel, is to take the place of the diviner and sorcerer elsewhere. "Jahve thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye harken."¹⁹⁰ This, according to the

¹⁸¹ Verses 25, 28. ¹⁸² Verse 30. ¹⁸³ Verse 28. ¹⁸⁴ In a biographical chapter.

¹⁸⁵ So according to Ewald's necessary emendation; see Paterson, in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, 1900.

¹⁸⁶ Verse 7 f. ¹⁸⁷ xii. 14. ¹⁸⁸ The passage is evidently secondary.

¹⁸⁹ תְּמִימָה תְּחִי שֶׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, verse 13.

¹⁹⁰ Verse 15.

writer, in accordance with the Divine promise made to the people "in the day of assembly" in Horeb when, after hearing the voice of Jahve as He spoke to them out of the fire, they expressed their fear of future direct theophanies. It is exceedingly important to contrast our present passage with the account in c. v. While agreeing in the initial stages, each gives the end a different turn. In c. v. Moses undertakes the task of making himself, at the people's bidding, the organ of all future revelation; the writer is interested in marking off the Decalogue from the rest of the Law: the first was communicated by the Deity to the people "face to face,"¹⁹¹ while the Law came through the mediation of Moses.¹⁹² In c. xviii., on the other hand, the future communications of the Deity are not given to Moses all at one time, but to Moses and his prophetic successors, from time to time. It is easy to see which of the two is the older and more in keeping with historical truth. In c. v. we have a dogmatic presentation which shall receive its due attention under article 7. In c. xviii. Moses merely opens the line of Israelitic prophets who are emphatically differentiated from the pagan magicians. *Deut.* xxxiv. 10 is assigned by different critics differently.¹⁹³ In view of the foregoing discussion, there should be no doubt that the verse is deuteronomistic; it represents the view of c. v. on the unique importance of the mediation of Moses. It goes without saying that, when once our Pentateuch assumed its present composite form, *Num.* xii. was interpreted in the light of *Deut.* xxxiv. 10. The process is then as follows: Moses first became identified with the newer prophets of the type of Amos, etc.; Moses and they all were conceived as of equal importance, each in his place in the prophetic succession; the developed ideas concerning God, e. g., the dogma of His absolute Unity, were projected into the past and associated with the name of Moses; it followed with necessity that Moses was given the primateship and that the prophets, Amos and Hosea and Isaiah and Micah and Jeremiah and the rest, were considered merely as *interpretes legis Mosaicae*. Dogmatically correct, for Moses stands for absolute monotheism and all that follows therefrom;

¹⁹¹ Verse 4; the following verse is clearly interpolated.

¹⁹² See below under article 7.

¹⁹³ See the table in Bertholet's commentary, 1899, 112.

historically wrong, because the tendency is placed in lieu of the developed form.

The Law demands obedience to the prophets,¹⁹⁴ except in the case of a prophet preaching the worship of foreign deities.¹⁹⁵ There is such a thing as false inspiration. Jahve may be testing the people's allegiance.¹⁹⁶ Obedience to God is placed above obedience to the prophets. A prophet like Isaiah demands implicit faith. "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."¹⁹⁷ What the Deuteronomist calls obedience, the Chronicler¹⁹⁸ calls faith.¹⁹⁹ The two things are but one: the one is an ethical, the other a religious term. And they run into each other: if a man has faith,²⁰⁰ it is accounted to him as righteousness;²⁰¹ the believer,²⁰² is the righteous man.²⁰³

Num. xi. 16-17, 24-30; xxvii. 15 ff. became in rabbinic and mediæval times fruitful sources of theories concerning the communication (emanation) (לְזַעַן!) of the Holy Spirit.

PHILO's conception of prophetic inspiration is one of extreme absoluteness. BOUSSET²⁰⁴ quotes the following passage:²⁰⁵ "A prophet never says anything of his own; he is merely an interpreter. All that he brings forward comes to him from without. As long as he is in a state of inspiration, he is not conscious of himself, reason has departed and left the citadel of the soul behind. But the spirit of God comes and takes up his abode with him and plays on the voice as on an instrument and produces the sounds of the manifest declaration of that which he reveals." Moses is to Philo the greatest of all prophets; the latter are but friends and associates of Moses.²⁰⁶

The Holy Spirit (*רוּחַ הָקֶדֶשׁ*), prominent in rabbinic literature, is never hypostatized. While, on the one hand, the doctrine of inspiration held by the rabbis is quite mechanical,²⁰⁷ there are, on the other

¹⁹⁴ *Deut. xviii. 15.* ¹⁹⁵ *xiii. 2 ff.* ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid., 4.* ¹⁹⁷ *Isai. vii. 9.* ¹⁹⁸ *II xx. 20.*

¹⁹⁹ See also the *Targum ad Isai. vii. 9.* ²⁰⁰ *אמונה.* ²⁰¹ *דרקה צדיק.* *Gen. xv. 6.*

²⁰² *מאמין.* ²⁰³ *צדיק.* On the subject of faith more below. ²⁰⁴ P. 126.

²⁰⁵ *De special. Legibus III, 8.* ²⁰⁶ Bousset, 91.

²⁰⁷ Thus e. g., Moses writes the account of his own death at the dictation of God, *Baba batra* 15 a, opinion of R. Simon; the same opinion in Philo and Josephus, Bousset, 126; contrast the rationalistic opinion of R. Judah (or Nehemiah), *B. batra, ibid.*, who holds that the last eight verses of Deuteronomy were written by Joshua.

hand, evidences of an insight into the personal element which enters into the prophetic inspiration. The prophet must be in a certain mental disposition which prepares the indwelling of the Divine spirit in him. "The Divine Presence²⁰⁸ comes upon man neither when he is in a state of indolence, nor out of grief, nor out of laughter, nor out of playfulness, nor out of idle talk, but out of religious joyfulness."²⁰⁹ With reference to the brevity of *Isaiah* vi. and the undue length and detailed character of *Ezek.* i. the rabbis liken Isaiah to a city man who sees the king, while Ezekiel is compared to a villager who sees the king: the latter is more attracted by the trappings and the little things than by the royal personality.²¹⁰ "No two prophets speak alike,"²¹¹ though they may agree in substance.²¹² In *Levit. rabb.* c. 1. the rabbis clearly distinguish between the Israelitic prophets and the heathen prophets, and, again, between Moses and the rest of the Israelitic prophets. "God reveals himself (נִגְהָ) to the prophets of Israel with a full voice in a language of holiness and purity and clearness, in the broad daylight, as a man who goes in to his wife; not stealthily, by night, as a man who visits his concubine." "All the other prophets saw God through nine glasses, but Moses saw Him through one glass. Or, all the other prophets saw God through a soiled, unclear glass, while Moses saw Him through a clear, finely polished glass (אַיְסָפְקָלְרִיא מֵצָחֶצֶת)."²¹³ Moses is called the Father of the prophets.²¹⁴ The Sinaitic revelation where Israel saw God "face to face"²¹⁵ is repeatedly glorified. It is considered as the source of all future revelation. "Whatever the prophets were to prophesy in the future was revealed on Sinai."²¹⁶ The period of the birth of the nation (conceived, of course, in its ecclesiastical aspect), in general, is regarded by the rabbis as that of revelation. "Neither Ezekiel nor the rest of the prophets saw God as well as a plain maid-servant while crossing the Red Sea."²¹⁷ "In that hour (while stationed at the foot of Sinai) they saw what neither Ezekiel

²⁰⁸ שְׁבִינוֹת.²⁰⁹ Sabb. 30 b = Psalim 117 a.²¹⁰ Hagig. 13 b.²¹¹ בְּסִינְנוֹן אַחֲרָ.²¹² Sanh. 89 a. A convenient harmonistic principle.²¹³ Ibam. 49 b. see *Sukk.* 45 b; on the meaning of the word *Tos. Iomtob* on *Kelim* xxx. 2; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II (1899), 93.²¹⁴ אָבִי הַנְּבִיאִים.²¹⁵ מַעֲמֵד הָר סִינְיָ in post-talmudic literature.²¹⁶ Exodus rabbah c. xxviii.²¹⁷ *Mkilata*, Section of the Song, c. 3.

nor Isaiah saw."²¹⁸ In the Prayer Book²¹⁹ the Sinaitic revelation²²⁰ is an important dogma; it occupies the third place, only preceded by the dogmas of God's Unity and Providence.

The communication of the spirit from man to man is likened to the kindling of one lamp by another;²²¹ the elders received their inspiration from Moses, but Moses was in no wise impoverished.²²²

MAIMUNI'S conception of prophecy is laid down under articles 6 and 7, *יסוד התורה*, cc. vii-x, and *Guide*, II, cc. xxxii.-xlviii. He sympathizes with the philosophers who regard prophecy "as a certain perfection founded in the human nature; the individual, however, cannot attain to that perfection except by means of exercise which causes that which is potentially contained in the species to become actual, provided there be no obstacle arising out of the temperament or from some other cause."²²³ His opinion is emphatically opposed to the vulgar opinion which considers prophecy as a Divine gift without reference to the capacity of the receiver, or to his character; but he cannot accept the opinion of the philosophers to the extent of denying all Divine spontaneity in conferring that gift. "He who is morally worthy of, and intellectually prepared for, prophecy, may still go without it; the prophetic inspiration is in the nature of a miracle." "Know, that prophecy, in its true character, is an emanation of the Deity which through the agency of the active intellect, spreads itself first over the rational (logical, intellectual), and then over the imaginative faculty; it marks the highest degree of man and the acme of perfection to which the human species may attain, and this state is the highest perfection of the imaginative faculty. It is something which by no means need be present in every man, nor is it something at which one may arrive through the utmost attention to the speculative sciences or through moral perfection, no matter how high, unless there go with it the greatest possible perfection in the imaginative faculty."²²⁴ "Through instruction and moral training a man may greatly perfect himself, but he cannot attain the spiritual exaltation characteristic of prophecy; the prophetic faculty is not acquired, but is a free gift of nature with

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, on *Exod.* xix. 11.

²¹⁹ *Additional*, New Year.

²²⁰ אהה נגליות.

²²¹ *Numbers rabbah* c. xxi.

²²² *Ibid.*, c. xv.

²²³ *Guide*, II, c. xxxii.

²²⁴ C. xxxvi.

which one is born. That power consists in making use of, and combining, the sensations which are conveyed by the senses and in inventing new mental pictures out of such combination; its greatest achievement is the cessation of the activity of the senses, the mind being absolutely given over to its own workings.”²²⁵ C. xlv. enumerates eleven degrees of prophecy, one more perfect than the other. MAIMUNI emphasizes the use of symbols by the prophets; the ladder which Jacob saw, or the animals in the chariot seen by Ezekiel, and similar matters are bodily interpreted as mere symbols. The superiority of the prophetic inspiration of Moses consists, according to Maimuni, in four points. Moses prophesied while awake, and not in dreams; while the other prophets received the Divine message through the mediating offices of an angel, and hence were obliged to resort to symbolic language; Moses spoke with God “face to face and saw His very form,” understood the Divine word in its absolute truth without the need of symbols; while the other prophets trembled or lost their bodily strength during the Divine inspiration, Moses stood firm, speaking to God “as one speaks to his neighbor”;²²⁶ while the other prophets, prepared though they might be, were obliged to wait until the Deity was pleased to speak to them, Moses was at all times able to obtain Divine inspiration. Thus, while the other prophets were free, during the intervals between one inspiration and the other, to engage in worldly pursuits, the life of Moses was entirely devoted to the prophetic calling; hence he separated himself from woman and the like and fastened his mind wholly upon God and sanctified himself like the very angels. The signs and miracles performed by Moses were not for the purpose of proving his claim to prophecy; for all Israel was a witness of his prophetic communion with God immediately after the Sinaitic revelation. Maimuni, by the way, holds with the rabbis that only the first two commandments were heard by the people directly from God²²⁷ in the sense that the existence of God and His unity are capable of speculative proof and do not require prophetic inspiration; but even in the knowledge of those two fundamental articles

²²⁵ See Bernfeld's exposition, i. 301; see also 303 ff.

²²⁶ *Exod.* xxxiii. 11.

²²⁷ *Makkot* 24 a.

they were not to be compared to Moses whose knowledge was of a different kind, the prophetic.²²⁹

(7) MAN IS SUBJECT TO GOD'S LAW.

I include in this article MAIMUNI's eighth and ninth, which are formulated so as to proclaim the Divine origin of the Law of Moses (Torah, Pentateuch) in its entirety as well as of its oral interpretation, and their immutability.²³⁰ The biblical conception of Torah (*תורה*) may be stated as follows. The priest is charged with the instruction of the people.²³¹ The priest's instruction is called *תורה*. But the prophetic instruction also is called *תורה*.²³² The priestly (in the plural) were in the process of codification at the time of Hosea.²³³ The code of laws in E is called *התורה והמצוות*.²³⁴ Jeremiah knows of a written *תורת יהוה*.²³⁵ In the secondary parts of *Jer.*²³⁶ there may be a reference to a written *תורה*. The secondary parts of *Deut.* speak of a written *תורה*²³⁷ which is called *ספר התורה*²³⁸ and ascribed to Moses.²³⁹ The deuteronomistic writers equally speak of a written Law²⁴⁰ which is called *תורת משה*,²⁴¹ or *ספר התורה*²⁴² or *ספר התורה מישראל*.

²²⁹ See Bernfeld's exposition and criticism, 305 f.; Albo's criticism is summed up *ibid.*, ii. 49 f. On the use which Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* made of Maimuni's chapters on prophecy as well as on their differences see Joel, *Spinoza's Theologisch-Politischer Traktat auf seine Quellen geprüft*, 1870, 16 ff. and Bernfeld, ii. 545 f. It is important to know that Maimuni's implied and Abraham Ibn Daud's explicit, identification of the Holy Spirit with the "active intellect" was emphatically rejected by Judah ha-Levi, who regards the prophetic gift as a faculty for seeing spiritual things spiritually, with the "inner eye" (see Kaufmann, 202 ff.; especially 203, note 181).

²³⁰ See below.

²³¹ *Hosea* iv. 6; *Deut.* xxxiii. 10; *Isai.* xxviii. 9; *Micah* iii. 11; *Deut.* xvii. 10 f.; xxiv. 8; *Jer.* ii. 8; xviii. 18; *Zeph.* iii. 4; *Ezek.* vii. 26; xxii. 26; xliv. 24; the quotations follow in the chronological order of the writings from which they are taken.

²³² *Isai.* i. 10; v. 24; viii. 16; xxx. 9; *Jer.* vi. 19 comp. ix. 12; xvi. 11.

²³³ viii. 12.

²³⁴ *Exod.* xxiv. 12.

²³⁵ vii. 8 comp. xxxi. 33 (32).

²³⁶ xxvi. 4; xliv. 10, 23.

²³⁶ xvii. 18; xxvii. 3, 8; xxviii. 58; xxxi. 9, 24.

²³⁷ xxix. 20; xxx. 10; xxxi. 26.

²³⁸ xxxi. 9, 24.

²³⁹ *II Kings* xvii. 37; xxii. 13; xxiii. 24.

²⁴⁰ *Josh.* i. 8; viii. 34; *II Kings* xxii. 8, 11.

²⁴¹ *Josh.* viii. 32; *I Kings* ii. 3; *II Kings* xxiii. 25.

משה; ²⁴² the Mosaic authorship is thus indicated by the name; this תורת חסידות is identified with the book found in the temple,²⁴³ to which also the name ספר הברית is given.²⁴⁴ A specific law is quoted therefrom.²⁴⁵ Its contents are alluded to *II Kings xxiii.* and there can be no doubt that the deuteronomistic code (*Deut. xii.-xxvi.*) is meant; but usually they are summed up in the command to worship Jahve alone (the leading thought of the introductory speeches in *Deut.*). In *Neh.* i. 8 f. *Deut.* iv. 27; xxx. 2, 4, 6, is quoted as Mosaic; hence the writer whose language is full of deuteronomistic reminiscences, but is beginning to show traces of Ezekielian and P phraseology (משל!), had before him our entire Deuteronomy which he recognized as Mosaic. *Neh.* xiii. 1 quotes a law from Deuteronomy;²⁴⁶ the code is designated as ספר משה. In the same chapter Nehemiah makes war upon intermarriage; *Deut.* vii. 1 ff. is not quoted. The תורת חסידות of *Neh.* viii. and x. is clearly the Priest's code; it is called ²⁴⁷ but also תורת יהוה ²⁴⁸ and תורת האלים ²⁴⁹; (*ספר*) *Neh.* x. 30 the Jewish community obligates itself by oath to obey "the Law of God which was given through Moses, the servant of God." What was said of the code of Ezra, was soon applied to the Pentateuch in its entirety which now consisted of the First Law (E and P) and the Second Law (D), together with the historical matter (JE and P) which was considered only as introductory to, and concerned with, the life of the lawgiver. The Pentateuch was to the Jewish community, in the times following Ezra, Mosaic and Divine.

What was the attitude of the prophets towards the "Mosaic" codes? Much has been written on the subject; hence a few words will suffice. In a paper entitled "Jeremiah a Protesting Witness of the Act of 621,"²⁵⁰ I have tried to show that Jeremiah knew the contents and introduction of the Josianic law book, but that he was a protesting witness. "There was indeed a 'far-reaching contrast between the men of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.' To the pro-

²⁴² *Josh.* viii. 31; xxiii. 6; *II Kings* xiv. 6.

²⁴³ *II Kings* xxii f.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, xxiii. 2, 3, 21.

²⁴⁵ *II Kings* xiv. 6 comp. *Deut.* xxiv. 16.

²⁴⁶ xxiii. 4 ff.

²⁴⁷ *Ezra* iii. 2; vii. 6.

²⁴⁸ *Ezra* vii. 10.

²⁴⁹ *Neh.* viii. 18 comp. ix. 3; x. 29; comp. viii. 8.

²⁵⁰ Printed in the *Proceed. of the American Philol. Assoc.*, 33 (1902), cvi-cviii.

phet this act of 621 was a compromise, a sowing among thorns.²⁵¹ The soil should be broken up entirely.²⁵² The people of Judah are called upon to circumcise the foreskins of their hearts.²⁵³ A reformation in externals will be ineffectual; a moral, spiritual regeneration is what the people are in need of. The right kind of law is one put in one's inward parts, written in the heart.²⁵⁴ Such, I maintain, was the attitude of Jeremiah towards the promulgation of the deuteronomistic code. No wonder that the men of Deuteronomy were forced to look around for another sponsor of their undertaking. Huldah the prophetess gave the sanction which a Jeremiah was compelled to refuse.²⁵⁵ So the law of Deuteronomy was launched without the aid of Jeremiah. His was a different spirit. It was reserved for a younger generation to infuse it into the framework of the 'secondary' portions of Deuteronomy. It is those chapters that constitute what is best in Deuteronomy; there is much in them of the language and spirit of the great protesting prophet." The Law, so much we have learned through the labors of the WELLHAUSEN school, was a compromise from its very inception. The opposition of the prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah vi., Jeremiah) to the sacrificial cult is too well known to be treated here in detail. Their teaching יְהוָה was very short, indeed. "Seek justice." "Jahve desires kindness." "He hath told thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" But this simple law was evidently not practicable at the time of the introduction of the deuteronomistic code. There was much to reform; to abolish the sacrificial cult was too radical a step and well nigh impossible; so the law of the single sanctuary was promulgated. And when the Jewish community was reconstituted after the exile, there was again danger of the extinction of the monotheistic idea; and so a wall, in the proper sense of the word, was built around the community and a new Law introduced which was destined to preserve the Jewish idea for centuries. But while the Law in its entirety was now obligatory upon the Jew, while its paragraphs, apparently

²⁵¹ iv. 3 b.

²⁵² iv. 3 a.

²⁵³ iv. 4.

²⁵⁴ xxxi. 33. The latter passage is, however, probably secondary.

²⁵⁵ *II Kings* xxii. 14 ff.

with equal seriousness, deal with divers concerns, ritual and ecclesiastical and political and moral and religious, the real and essential part of the Law which it took over from the preaching of the prophets was never lost sight of; nay, it was that which inspired the piety of the Psalmist, of Sirach, of Daniel. And it must not be forgotten that some of the laws were ideal from the very beginning, the product of souls whose main interest was to alleviate suffering and to crush ignoble selfishness. The Law made the Jew; it is probably responsible for many of his faults; but it also created his virtues and taught him, by a system of rigorous discipline, to subordinate his will to the will of God. The Law indeed was of immense pedagogical importance; and it led men unto God.

Ps. cxix. may be a very tedious one for fastidious exegetes.²⁵⁶ Few of them do it justice. The man who could thus sing of the Law must have penetrated to its very core. He loves the Law; it is his delight. It is better to him than thousands of gold and silver; he will speak of it before kings and not be ashamed; he rejoices at it as one who findeth great spoil; he will not forget it, though his life be constantly in his hand. And so it was with Sirach and Hillel and Philo and Jesus. Sirach praises the Law as the embodied wisdom of God. "All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the Law which Moses commanded us for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob. It maketh wisdom abundant, as Pison, and as Tigris in the days of new fruits."²⁵⁷ "Where there is much Torah, there is much life. If thou hast acquired the words of the Law, thou hast acquired the life of the world which is to come."²⁵⁸ "For PHILO the Law is the greatest miracle of God on earth, an image of the eternal order of the cosmos, incomparably better than all other laws of the world. All other laws and constitutions were doomed to an end: 'but his (Moses's) laws are firm, immovable, unshaken, sealed as it were with nature's own seal, and they have remained in force from the time in which they were written to this day. And there is hope that they will remain immortal into all coming time—as long as sun and moon and the entire heavens and the world abide. For though the people have

²⁵⁶ Duhm, for example; how different is the estimate of Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*,² 37)!

²⁵⁷ xxiv. 23 f.

²⁵⁸ *Abot*. ii. 8.

experienced very great changes in fortune and misfortune, nothing, not even the least of the laws, was changed.'"²⁵⁹ BOUSSET also quotes from JOSEPHUS: "And even though we might be robbed of riches and our cities and of other goods, there remains to us our immortal Law." "And did not Jesus, although he, inwardly freed from the fetters of the Law, removed religion out of the sphere of legalism, indignantly repudiate the opinion that he meant to destroy the Law and, in language which directly reminds us of Philo's words, give expression to his conviction of the eternal duration of the Law?"²⁶⁰ It is needless to multiply examples from rabbinical literature which extoll the merits of the Law, or treat of its eternity.²⁶¹ I may be permitted to refer to SCHECHTER'S articles in the *JQR*, 8.²⁶² Much has been said by Christian scholars about the evils of legalism; Bousset is, from a Christian point of view, not unfair; he recognizes the dangers incident to legalism which are, for that matter, those of all ecclesiastical piety and morality, but he finds much to commend. Much has been done by Jewish scholars to set legalism in its right light and to have it judged from the right perspective. The rabbis certainly took upon themselves the yoke of the Law and the commandments²⁶³ with gladness.²⁶⁴ And, while the rabbis insisted upon obedience to the lighter as well as to the heavier matters of the Law,²⁶⁵ the distinction certainly did not escape them. Hillel sums up the Law in the words: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you"; all the rest is a mere commentary on this central injunction.²⁶⁶

The Pauline movement for the abrogation of the Law did not affect Palestinian Judaism to any large extent. It was an excellent

²⁵⁹ Bousset, 88.

²⁶⁰ Mat. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17. Bousset, *ibid.* See, however, on Mat. v. 17 ff. Merx, *Das Evangelium Matthaeus nach der syrischen . . . Palimpsest-hand-schrift*, 1902, 72 ff.

²⁶¹ The abrogation of the Law is placed in Messianic times, **מצוות בטילות למשיח לבוא**. *Nidd*, 61 b.

²⁶² See above.

²⁶³ **של תורה ומצוות**.

²⁶⁴ See F. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums*, 1903, 43 f.

²⁶⁵ *Abot* ii. 1.

²⁶⁶ *Sabbat* 31 a. Similar sayings by Akiba and Ben Azzai have been mentioned above.

help in the preaching of the Gospel on the part of the Apostle to the Gentiles.²⁶⁷ But Judaism was not much disturbed. The Law was and proved the element in which alone, at least for the following two millennia, the Jewish idea could safely live. The Mishna emphatically asserts the Divine origin of the Law and excludes from membership in the Jewish communion those who hold contrary opinions.²⁶⁸

On the theory of oral tradition we have a paper by Dr. G. DEUTSCH.²⁶⁹ Suffice it to say for our present purposes that the "tradition of the elders" and the interpretation of rabbis were invested with equal authority as the written Law itself.²⁷⁰ The authority of the traditional law was communicated to its codification, the Mishna and Talmud. The revolt of the Karaites²⁷¹ did not lead to a diminution of the authority of the Talmud among the Rabbanites, i. e., the bulk of the Jews.

And accordingly, MAIMUNI, with absolute firmness, formulates his two articles dealing with the law. He aims at the Christians; he aims at the Mohammedans; he aims at the Karaites. Every word in the Pentateuch is Divine; narrative and law equally authoritative and important; the name of the concubine of Eliphaz²⁷² as well as the Unity of God. He has the support of the rabbis.²⁷³ He is equally firm about the Divine origin of the traditional interpretation. It is quite clear that, where a book becomes authoritative, there must be an equally authoritative interpretation. His views in detail may be found in his introduction to his commentary on the Mishna²⁷⁴ to which indeed he refers the reader. And, consistently, the same authority was given his code as well as the later codes and glosses. Thus, all the laws, written as well as traditional, are immutable, eternal. But it is just as certain that, although, as MAIMUNI clearly says, so far as the practical life of the Jew is concerned, no difference must be made between kernel²⁷⁵ and husk,²⁷⁶ a difference was felt to exist between them; Jewish piety was fed, even in the

²⁶⁷ See Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 1902, book i., ch. v. ²⁶⁸ *Sanhedr.* x. 1. ²⁶⁹ *YB.*, 1897 (Conference of 1896), 129 ff.

²⁷⁰ For the beginning, and the testimony of Josephus see Schürer, II, 390.

²⁷¹ Grätz, v. 2, chapter vii. ²⁷² *Gen.* xxxvi. 12. ²⁷³ *Sanhedr.* 99 a.

²⁷⁴ Pococke, 1 ff. ²⁷⁵ בָּשָׂר. ²⁷⁶ קֶרֶב.

centuries of an unmitigated legalism, from the kernel and not from the husk. And that kernel, that essence of Judaism, was: to love God with the whole heart and the whole soul and the whole power and to do His will with a perfect heart.

(8) MAN IS RESPONSIBLE TO GOD, THE SEARCHER OF THE HUMAN HEART AND THE RIGHTEOUS JUDGE, FOR ALL HIS THOUGHTS AND DEEDS; BUT HE WHO CONFESSES HIS SINS AND TURNS AWAY FROM HIS EVIL WAYS AND TRULY REPENTS IS LOVINGLY FORGIVEN BY THE DIVINE FATHER.

Corresponds to MAIMUNI'S tenth (Providence)²⁷⁷ and eleventh (Retribution)²⁷⁸ articles. The idea of Divine Providence is brought out (in the formulation as adopted above) by the words "Searcher of the human heart";²⁷⁹ that of Divine Retribution by the epithet "Righteous Judge."²⁸⁰ Responsibility ("man is responsible") implies the freedom of will.²⁸¹ We incorporate in our eighth article the correlate of Divine Justice—Divine Forgiveness. In view of the importance attached to Atonement in the system of Judaism—witness the institution of the Day of Atonement—its omission from MAIMUNI'S Creed²⁸² is a grave error. That God takes cognizance of human affairs and requites every man according to his doings are two familiar biblical thoughts. GUNKEL²⁸³ has his doubts as to whether the ancient Hebrews endowed Jahve with the attribute of Omiscience. Perhaps he is right. For GUNKEL has in mind the oldest Hebrew narrator of the Paradise story, not the Jahvistic writer. But we need not go down into late Jewish or rabbinic times²⁸⁴ to find

²⁷⁷ אָנֹה תַּעֲלֵי יְעַלְמָם אֶפְעַלְלָם וְלֹא יִמְלֹחָה.

²⁷⁸ אָנֹה תַּעֲלֵי יְנַזְזֵן מִתְהַלְלָה אֶוְאמֵר אֶלְתֹּרֶה וְיַעֲקֵב מִן יְרַתְכּוֹ נְוַاهִיהָה.

²⁷⁹ *Jerem.* xvii. 10 and elsewhere.

²⁸⁰ *Ps.* vii. 12 and elsewhere.

²⁸¹ The fifth article in the Creed of Crescas: Schechter, *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 117; Bernfeld, 472.

²⁸² And, for that matter, from any of the other Creeds drawn up after Maimuni; Crescas places the doctrine of Divine Mercy to the Penitent among those "which are expressed by certain religious ceremonies" (Schechter, *ibid.*, 118; *'Avot d'R. H.*, Vienna edition, 83 b ff.), but keeps it out of his six "fundamental beliefs."

²⁸³ On *Genes.* iii. 8-13.

²⁸⁴ See Rashi on *Genes.* iii. 9; iv. 9; xi. 5; xviii. 21; *Numb.* xxii. 9 and sources.

out the Jewish position on the subject; for the Bible brings us face to face with it in innumerable passages. *Jerem.* xxxii. 19²⁸⁵ is selected by MAIMUNI as the most appropriate biblical quotation for his tenth article. "Great in council, and mighty in deed: whose eyes are open²⁸⁶ upon all the ways of the sons of men; to give everyone according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings." "The heart is deceitful²⁸⁷ above all things . . . who can know it? I the Lord who search the heart and test the reins (inward impulses), to give every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings,"²⁸⁸ "And render unto every man according to all his ways, whose heart Thou knowest: for Thou, even Thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men."²⁸⁹ "Jahve," says a psalm which now figures as the Song of Hannah, "is a God of knowledge;²⁹⁰ a God who appraises²⁹¹ men's deeds."²⁹² Comp. *Prov.* xxi. 2=xvi. 2 (with variations) and especially xxiv. 12: "He who weighs hearts, does He not perceive? He who observes thy soul, does He not know? and will He not requite every man according to his deed?"²⁹³ "O Jahve," sings the Psalmist, "Thou searchest me through and knowest me; Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine uprising; Thou understandest my thought afar off; Thou provest my going and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways; for there is not a word on my tongue, but Thou already knowest it all, O Jahve."²⁹⁴ "Jahve looks down from heaven, He sees all mankind. From His dwelling-place He beholds (בְּנֵי־הָרָאשָׁה!) all the inhabitants of the earth; He who has fashioned the hearts of them all, who considers all their deeds."²⁹⁵ To the Psalmist, the wicked who trample God's people or who live in

²⁸⁵ From Jeremiah's prayer which is full of deuteronomistic phraseology and apparently from the pen of some deuteronomistic writer.

²⁸⁶ See *Job* xiv. 3 a; observe the synonymous phrase in the second half.

²⁸⁷ LXX: deep. ²⁸⁸ *Jerem.* xvii. 9 f. ²⁸⁹ *I Kings* viii. 39; deuteronomistic.

²⁹⁰ All-knowing; so Briggs quoted in H. P. Smith's commentary *ad locum*; but though the rendering is undoubtedly correct, we need not fall back upon the so-called "ampliative plural."

²⁹¹ So read with LXX.

²⁹² *I Sam.* ii. 3.

²⁹³ "Heart" and "soul" here "inward being," or, "thought," Toy *ad locum*.

²⁹⁴ *Ps.* cxxxix 1-4; the translation is that of Wellhausen-Furness; see also verse 23. ²⁹⁵ *Ps.* xxxiii. 13-15; the translation as above.

ease and comfort despite their deeds of violence seem to deny the Divine Omniscience. "They say: Jah sees it not, the God of Jacob notes it not. Be discerning, ye dullards among the people! Ye fools, when will ye get understanding? He who devised the ear, must He not hear? or He who formed the eye, must He not see? . . . Jahve knows that the devices of men are but emptiness."²⁹⁶ "And they (the wicked) say: How should God know it! or is there any knowledge in the Most High?"²⁹⁷ Eliphaz represents Job as a doubter in Providence. "Is not God in the hight of heaven? and behold the topmost stars, how high they are! Therefore thou sayest, What doth God know? can He judge through the thick darkness? thick clouds are a covering to Him, that He seeth not, etc."²⁹⁸ Elihu emphatically asserts the Divine Omniscience especially with regard to the punishment of the wicked. "For His eyes are upon the ways of a man, and He seeth all his steps. There is no darkness, nor deep darkness, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves."²⁹⁹ The denials of Divine Omniscience to which the biblical writers allude are to be taken in a practical, not in a theoretical sense.³⁰⁰ Yet, the fact that such questions are at all framed by the Psalmists or the author of Job shows that the religious thinkers of the day have become conscious of the thought of the Divine Omniscience upon which rests the doctrine of Retribution. The two together constitute the dogma of the Divine government of the world or of Providence which we may thus recognize as a living, conscious element in the religion of Early Judaism. The biblical term expressive of God's providential dealing with the world, mankind or the individual man is the verb זכר.³⁰¹ Another figure from

²⁹⁶ Ps. xciv. 7-9, 11; the translation as above.

²⁹⁷ Ps. lxxiii. 11; Duhm takes as the subject of the introductory verb; the great mass of the people; are we perhaps to read: ואנָכֹר, "and I said" I, the Psalmist, whose foot almost slipped (verse 2), *i. e.*, who almost lost faith in the Divine government of the world, *i. e.*, in Providence (see Job. iv. 4)?

²⁹⁸ Job xxii. 12 ff.

²⁹⁹ Job xxxiv. 21 f.

³⁰⁰ Compare our remarks above with reference to "the fool who says, There is no God" and Friedländer, *loc cit.*, 482 f.

³⁰¹ זכר (opposite שכח) means to remember persons or their acts to their advantage or disadvantage (*e. g.*, Gen. xl. 14, 23; *I Sam.* xxv. 31; *II Sam.* xix. 20; *Deut.* xxv. 17); similarly with God as subject, in either sense (*I Sam.*

commercial language is the recording in writing.³⁰² Hence the Book of Record (Remembrance)³⁰³ in which are entered those who fear God.³⁰⁴ Such books of record are opened when God sits as Judge.³⁰⁵ Like נִכְרָה פְּקֻדָּה is used of God's providential activity. "O Jahve, Thou knowest," prays Jeremiah, "remember me, and visit me."³⁰⁶ And Job longs for the moment when God would recognize, or justify, him, remember him.³⁰⁷

The book of Job presupposes the belief in individual retribution as the orthodox doctrine and an unquestioned dogma. "Sin leads to suffering; and conversely all suffering presupposes sin," was the acknowledged teaching, inherited from the fathers.³⁰⁸ "We have heard it,"³⁰⁹ says Eliphaz, "so it is."³¹⁰ That sin calls for suffering and that piety is rewarded is indeed an old and general belief. But the doctrine of individual responsibility and individual retribution did not arise in Israel before exilic times. The Decalogue teaches that Jahve "visits the sin of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation, and shews mercy unto a thousand generations."³¹¹ This doctrine of communal retribution accords with the primitive conception of the community as a moral person. The pre-exilic prophets themselves view the nation as one, one in all its members, one in all its history. "Upon the ruins of the nation the individual became aware of his existence. He questioned the Divine justice according to which 'the fathers had eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge.'³¹² The situation was met with singular courage and boldness by the prophet of

i. II; *Neh.* vi. 14; comp. *Gen.* viii. 1; *Ps.* lxxxviii.). Thus God remembers sins (*Ps.* lxxix. 8; elsewhere—e. g., *Ps.* xc. 8—He is said to place them before His eyes; or to keep them (*Ps.* cxxx. 3) sealed up in a bag (*Job* xiv. 17; as one keeps valuables; the figure is borrowed from commercial language). But He also remembers affection (*Jerem.* ii. 2) or devotion (*Ps.* cxxxii. 1).

³⁰² סְפַת בְּנֵבָב and synonyms, *Jerem.* xvii. 1; *Job* xiii. 26; the opposite is מְחַזֵּה "to wipe out" *Ps.* li. 11; *Neh.* xiii. 14; זִיכָר is clearly a synonym of בְּנֵבָב.

³⁰³ סְפַר זִיכָרין.

³⁰⁴ *Mal.* iii. 16. Hence also the Book of the Living or of Life; see the writer's article on the "Book of Life," *Jewish Encycl.*, vol. iii. ³⁰⁵ *Dan.* vii. 10.

³⁰⁶ *Jerem.* xv. 15.

³⁰⁷ *Job*. xiv. 13.

³⁰⁸ *Job*. viii. 8 ff.; xv. 18 f.

³⁰⁹ So point with LXX and the Syriac version.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 27.

³¹¹ *Exod.* xx. 5 f.

³¹² *Jerem.* xxxi. 28 (29); *Ezek.* xviii. 2.

the exile, Ezekiel, who formulated the doctrine of individual responsibility and individual retribution. ‘The soul that sinneth, it alone shall die; the son is not responsible for the sins of the father, nor the father for the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall save him alone, and the wickedness of the wicked shall fall upon his head alone.’”²¹³ It is obvious that *Jerem.* xxxi. 28 (29) f. is spurious. In *Deut.* vii. 9 f. we have a compromise between the old and the new: God’s covenant of grace extends unto a thousand generations, but “He repays them that hate Him to their face,” *i. e.*, in their own persons and during their lifetime.²¹⁴ “Behold, the righteous are recompensed during their life, on earth: how much more the wicked and the sinner!”²¹⁵ Such is the firm belief to which the post-exilic writers cling. Yet not a few of them were sorely puzzled by the welfare of the wicked. Asaph reproves himself for the doubts into which he had almost lapsed. He comforts himself with the thought that fellowship with God is the only real good, which the godly man alone possesses. “Whom have I to care for in heaven? and possessing Thee, I have pleasure in nothing upon earth. As for me, to be near to God is my happiness.”²¹⁶ And the sufferings of the righteous were quite as perplexing. The answer which the religious minds gave to their doubts—for belief in the Divine justice, nay, in God himself was at stake—consisted either in referring to the innate sinfulness of man²¹⁷ or by enunciating the doctrine that suffering serves a disciplinary, educational purpose.²¹⁸ They cling to the hope that, where a righteous man is suffering, a turn will come during his lifetime. “For though a righteous man fall seven times, he will rise again.”²¹⁹ His latter end will be greater than his beginning, his future more glorious than his past.²²⁰ Thus piety conquers all doubts which experience

²¹³ *Ezek.* xviii. 20. From the writer’s lecture on “The Central Thought of Book of Job” printed among the papers presented at the 1901 summer session of the Jewish Chautauqua, Philadelphia, 1902, 56-70.

²¹⁴ See also *Ezek.* xiv. 12 ff. (contrast *Gen.* xviii. 23 ff.). ²¹⁵ *Prov.* xi. 31.

²¹⁶ *Ps.* lxxiii. 25, 28.

²¹⁷ *Job.* iv. 17 ff.; xv. 14 ff.; xxv. 4 ff.

²¹⁸ *Prov.* iii. 11 f.; *Job* v. 17 ff.; xxxiii. 14 ff. where the thought is developed that suffering is one of the means by which God reveals Himself to man, that is, the righteous man, in order to save his life by inducing him to penitent submission and prayer. ²¹⁹ *Prov.* xxiv. 16. ²²⁰ *Job.* viii. 7.

only too frequently suggests. The doctrine of earthly retribution is taught in Proverbs, in the Psalms, by Eliphaz and Bildad and Zophar and Elihu. It was reserved for the few deeper thinkers—the writer of *Ps.* xlix.²²¹ Job,²²² to transcend it. “It is in order to prove that a man may die a leper, and yet be an innocent man, that the book of Job was written.” Conscience,²²³ that is, a man’s opinion of his own moral character which condemns but also gives the approbation or recognition which others deny him, here—for the first time, as far as we know—asserts itself. “In his struggle with an unsympathetic world, Job is thrown upon his own little world; unable to obtain justification from his human friends or from God, he listens with concentrated attention to the voice within him, which says: Thou art right.” “Job’s insistence on his right estranges him, indeed, from God; but it is this stubborn defense of his innocence that throws him back into the arms of God. ‘Even now my witness is in heaven, and He who is aware²²⁴ of my innocence on high.’²²⁵ To the witness within him is joined the Witness on high. But what if Job die before God’s lamp is kindled anew in his tent? The problem centers about death, or about the destiny of man. The thought of meeting God, of seeing His face in a hereafter, is first²²⁶ put forth tentatively, as a mere possibility, a pious wish. The hope of man, as the belief in a future life is characteristically called, cannot be realized. But the thought is resumed again in ch. xix. This time it is expressed more emphatically, more seriously, in bolder language. Job pathetically implores his friends: ‘Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me. Why do ye persecute me as God?’²²⁷ But his friends remain mute. There is no sympathy to be had from them. So he will carry the knowledge of his innocence to the grave. His conscience will die with him. There will be no vindication

²²¹ Perhaps also the author of *Ps.* lxxiii.; see Duhm.

²²² See Duhm on ch. xix. and the writer’s lecture on “The Central Thought of the Book of Job” referred to above—it was prepared March, 1897.

²²³ The Hebrew says “heart” (*Job* xxvii. 6); the Greek translation uses the verb (*οὐ σύνοιδα ἔμαυρῷ*, ‘I am not conscious’) corresponding to the noun ‘conscience’ (*συνείδησις*); see also the Greek of ix. 35.

²²⁴ Vulgate: *conscius*.

²²⁵ *Job* xvi. 19.

²²⁶ Ch. xiv.

²²⁷ Verse 21 f.

when once he is gone. There will be none to inscribe upon his tombstone the words: Here rests a pious man, although he died a leper. 'So my blood will be innocently shed.' 'Oh,' Job prays, 'let not a drop of it be covered by the earth; but let its cry go on unchecked until it reach some place where it may be heard; let it find an avenger somewhere.'²²⁸ 'Surely I know,' exclaims the sufferer, 'that my avenger liveth, and upon my grave He will rise to testify, He who is even now my Witness in heaven. And when this my skin will have been worn away, and my flesh destroyed, I shall see God, receive His justification, His recognition, I, myself, with mine own eye, in my own person.'²²⁹ The belief in a future life, or the personal realization of God's love in a hereafter, is now enunciated as a firm conviction."²³⁰ The development of the dogma of a future life will be discussed below under Eschatology. For our present purposes it is sufficient to show how the dogma of individual retribution was re-formulated by the deeper thinkers of the Jewish community: not here on earth, but in heaven, not in this world, but in the world which is to come, is adequate, just retribution to be looked forward to. And we shall see that in its new form the dogma of retribution took firm roots in the consciousness of Judaism. In a conscious contrast to the scepticism of Ecclesiastes—the future life is doubted;²³¹ nor is much faith had in retribution—the Epilogue²³² re-affirms the Jewish position: "For God shall bring every creature (?) into judgment concerning (?) any secret thought, whether it be good or whether it be evil."

Human responsibility implies freedom of action, free will. The call to repentance on the part of the prophets is rooted in the conviction that sin originates in the will of man. "Return ye (שׁׁבוּ!), and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so they shall not be a stumbling-block of iniquity unto you. Cast away from you all your transgressions, wherein ye have transgressed; and make you

²²⁸ xvi. 18.

²²⁹ xix. 25 ff.

²³⁰ From the writer's lecture.

²³¹ *Eccl.* iii. 21; the present pointing testifies to the hold the dogma had on the Judaism of Masoretic times.

²³² Most probably spurious. Quite plausible is N. Krochmal's opinion according to which *Eccl.* xii. 9 ff. was intended as the conclusion of the third section of the canon; see מורה נבוכי הומן, ch. xi., §8.

a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord Jahve: wherefore turn yourselves, and live.”³³³ “I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day,” says the Lawgiver, “that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse: therefore choose (וּבְחָרֶת!) life, that thou mayest live!”³³⁴ On the other hand, the Bible teaches that “a man’s steps are ordered by God.”³³⁵ “O Lord,” thus runs a prayer in the book of Jeremiah,³³⁶ “I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in the power of man to direct his steps.”³³⁷ The doctrines of man’s freedom and of the foreknowledge of God do not appear to conflict.

The mercifulness of God is insisted on quite as much as the Divine justice. “This fundamental thought of Hosea, that the relation between Jahve and Israel is a relation of love and of such duties as flow from love, gives his whole teaching a very different color from that of Amos. Amos, as we saw, begins by looking on Jahve as the Creator and God of the universe, who dispenses the lot of all nations and vindicates the laws of universal righteousness over the whole earth; and, when he proceeds to concentrate attention on his people, the prophet still keeps the larger point of view before the mind of his hearers, and treats the sin and judgment of Israel as a particular case under the general laws of Divine government, complicated by the circumstance that Jahve knows Israel and has personal communications with it in which no other nation shares. Hosea has no such universal starting-point; he deals with the subject not from the outside inwards but from the heart outwards. Jahve’s love to his own is the deepest thing in his religion, and every problem of faith centres in it. To both prophets the distinction which we are wont to draw between religious and moral duties is unknown; yet it would not be unfair to say in modern language that Amos bases religion on morality, while Hosea deduces morality from religion. The two men are types of a contrast which runs through the whole history of religious thought and life down to our own days. The religious world has always been divided into

³³³ *Ezek.* xviii. 30 ff.

³³⁴ *Deut.* xxx. 19.

³³⁵ *Prov.* xx. 24.

³³⁶ x. 23.

³³⁷ Read חַלּוֹן וְהַכֵּן.

men who look at the questions of faith from the standpoint of universal ethics, and men by whom moral truths are habitually approached from a personal sense of the grace of God. Too frequently this diversity of standpoint has led to an antagonism of parties in the Church. Men of the type of Amos are condemned as rationalists and cold moderates; or, on the other hand, the school of Hosea are looked upon as enthusiasts and unpractical mystics. But Jahve chose his prophets from men of both types, and preached the same lesson in Israel through both.”³³⁸ While therefore the individual teachers in the Bible, in accordance with their particular bent of mind, emphasize either the Divine justice or the Divine love, the biblical teaching in its sum total is equally concerned with both. “Jahve, Jahve,” thus it is proclaimed to Moses in a theophany, “a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy unto a thousand generations, forgiving iniquity and transgression of sin: and that will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children’s children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation.”³³⁹ “Let the wicked man forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto Jahve, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon.”³⁴⁰ The temple which Solomon builds is to be a house of prayer for the forgiveness of sins.³⁴¹ The Law provides in the sacrificial cult means of atonement.³⁴² The levitical system of atonement culminates in the Day of Atonement. “In the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and shall do no manner of work, the homeborn, or the stranger that sojourneth among you: for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before Jahve.”³⁴³ “Have mercy upon me, O God,” prays the Psalmist, “according to Thy lovingkindness; according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies blot out my transgression.”³⁴⁴ “O

³³⁸ Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, 1895, 163 f.

³³⁹ *Exod.* xxxiv. 6 f.

³⁴⁰ *Isai.* lv. 7.

³⁴¹ *I Kings* viii. 30 ff.

³⁴² On the function of atonement primitively ascribed to all sacrifice and on the doctrine of substitution see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d edition, 237, 421.

³⁴³ *Levit.* xvi. 29 f.

³⁴⁴ *Ps.* li. 3.

Israel, hope in Jahve; for with Jahve there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption.”³⁴⁵ And numerous other passages.

The account which JOSEPHUS gives of the dogmatic differences of Pharisees and Sadducees touches, in part, the doctrines concerning Providence and Free Will. The Sadducees “disbelieve in Fate altogether and place God outside the possibility of doing or foreordaining ought that is evil. They say that it is in the power of man to choose between the good and the evil and to do the one or the other according as it pleases him.” “They deny that Fate exists; human actions, they maintain, do not come to pass through it. On the contrary, they ascribe everything to ourselves who are the authors of our good fortune, just as our misfortune comes to pass through our own imprudence.” On the other hand, the Pharisees teach “that everything is dependent upon Fate and God, and that, while the doing of good and the refraining therefrom are largely in our own hands, there is nevertheless obtained in every human action assistance from Fate.” “They maintain that everything is accomplished by Fate. Yet the human will is not deprived of its own activity, inasmuch as it has pleased the Deity that there should be a mixture and that to the decree of Fate there should be joined the will of man, whether for virtue or evil.” “They say that certain things, but not all things, are the work of Fate; certain things are left to man himself, whether they should happen or not.” Schürer³⁴⁶ has succeeded in divesting the account of Josephus of the strange expressions borrowed from the Greek philosophy of the day. The Pharisaic doctrine is on a line with the biblical thoughts referred to above. The official teachers of the Jewish religion have become conscious of the antinomy between the two doctrines of an Omnipotent and Omniscient God and of a Free Will. They, however, resolutely adhere to both. “Everything is foreknown (*רֹאשׁ*), but freedom is given,” thus teaches AKIBA.³⁴⁷ Both are fundamental thoughts in Judaism. The Sadducee with his absolutely free will and the fatalist Essene are heretics. Over against the latter, human responsibility is emphasized; with reference to the former, Divine Providence is never lost sight of. “Consider three

³⁴⁵ *Ps. cxxx. 7.*

³⁴⁶ II, 392 ff.

³⁴⁷ *Abot. iii. 15.*

things and thou wilt not fall into the hands of transgression: know what is above thee—a Seeing Eye, and a Hearing Ear, and all thy deeds written in a book."³⁴⁸ The Book of Record is met with again and again in Targum, Talmud, Prayer Book.³⁴⁹ "Thou art to render an account to God"³⁵⁰ is a frequent phrase.³⁵¹ New Year is the annual day of judgment,³⁵² when all creatures pass in review before the searching eye of Omnicience.³⁵³ In the Prayer Book, the day is designated as the "Day of Remembrance,"³⁵⁴ i. e., the day upon which God orders His providential government of the world. "Thou rememberest (*זכור*) the deeds of eternity and visitest (*פוקד*) all creatures of the earliest times, before Thee all the hidden things are revealed and the multitude of secrets which are from the beginning. There is no forgetfulness before Thy throne of glory, nor is anything hidden before Thine eyes. Thou rememberest all the deeds, nor any thoughts (?) concealed from Thee; everything is revealed and known before Thee, O Lord, our God, who watchest (*צופה*)³⁵⁵ and lookest to the end of all generations; for Thou bringest the decree of remembrance, that every spirit and soul be visited, that many deeds be remembered, and the multitude of (human) beings without number . . . For the memory of every thought (?) cometh before Thee, the deeds of a man and his visitation and the doings of the steps of a man, the thoughts of men and their devices, etc."³⁵⁶ According to Rabbi Jose, God judges man every day; according to Rabbi Judah, every hour.³⁵⁷ The Divine Providence extends to the *minutiae* of human life. "No man strikes his finger below unless they so decree above."³⁵⁸ Yet "everything comes to pass by the hand of Heaven, except the fear of Heaven."³⁵⁹ On the

³⁴⁸ *Abot*. ii. 1; see iii. 16.

³⁴⁹ See articles "Book of Life" and "Atonement, Day of," In the *Jewish Encycl.* ³⁵⁰ *אתה שחר ליתן דין וחשבון* ³⁵¹ *E. g., Abot* iii. 1. ³⁵² *יום הדין*.

³⁵³ *Ros ha-sanah* i. 2; see Targum *Job* i. 6.

³⁵⁴ *יום הזכרין* comp. *Levit.* xxiii. 24.

³⁵⁵ Comp. *Prov.* xv. 3 and especially *Abot* iii. 15 quoted above.

³⁵⁶ From the *Additional* of New Year's Day.

³⁵⁷ *Ros ha-sanah* 16 a; *Tosefta* i. 13. On judgment after death and the day of judgment see under Eschatology. ³⁵⁸ *Hull.* 7 b.

³⁵⁹ *Brak.* 33 b and parallels; both opinions are given in the name of Rabbi Hanina.

other hand, "when a man enters to defile himself, they open for him the door; but when a man enters to purify himself, they assist him."³⁰⁰

Rabbinic Judaism is equally conscious of the antinomy between the Divine Justice and the Divine Mercy (Love). The same Akiba teaches: "The world is judged in grace (תְּחִיבָה), yet everything is according to the multitude of (good) deeds."³⁰¹ The dread of the Stern Judge is, indeed, alive in Judaism. "Know before whom thou art to render account: before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He."³⁰² BOUSSET³⁰³ quotes from the *Slavonian Enoch*:³⁰⁴ "As it is dreadful and perilous to stand before the face of an earthly king, how much the more is it terrible and perilous to stand before the face of the Heavenly King who rules over the living and the dead." And quite apposite are his two quotations from rabbinic literature. The following is put into the mouth of the dying Johanan ben Zakkai. "If they brought me before a king whose anger, when he is angry, is not an everlasting anger . . . , I should nevertheless weep; now that they bring me before the King of kings . . . whose anger, when He is angry, is an everlasting anger . . . and there are before me two ways, the one to the garden of Eden, the other to Gehinnom, and I do not know upon which they lead me, should I not weep?"³⁰⁵ "Woe unto us because of the day of judgment, woe unto us because of the day of reproof! If before Joseph who was only flesh and blood his brothers could not hold their own when he called them to account; how shall flesh and blood be able to stand before the Holy One, blessed be He, who is at once Judge and Plaintiff and sitteth upon the throne of justice to judge every man?"³⁰⁶ To acknowledge

³⁰⁰ *Šabb.* 104 *a* and parallels.—p. *Peah* 16 *b* the question is asked, Do men fence up fences and open up breaches? And the answer is: When a man keeps himself from sin three times, God henceforth will keep him, that is, as Frankel explains, when a man has, by an effort of the will, habituated himself to abstention, it will require less effort or none at all for him to keep away from sin in the future; see Maimuni, *Teshubah* vi. 5.

³⁰¹ *Abot* iii. 15. See the commentaries for another reading.

³⁰² *Abot* iii. 1; see *ibid.*, iv. 22.

³⁰³ P. 288.

³⁰⁴ xxxix. 8.

³⁰⁵ *Brak.* 28 *b*.

³⁰⁶ *Genes. rabb.*, c. 93.

the Divine justice even where it is difficult to reconcile the facts with it, is a religious duty.³⁶⁷ Of the truly pious the rabbis say that they never murmur against God's dealings,³⁶⁸ Job's well-nigh blasphemous reproaches are censured.³⁶⁹ The Mishnah³⁷⁰ discusses the question whether Job served God from motives of love (מַאֲהָבָה); it decides in favor of Job. "Know before whom thou art laboring; and thy Employer is trustworthy to pay the wages of the labor."³⁷¹ Yet "be not as the servants who serve their master for the sake of the reward; but be as the servants who serve their master without the expectation of reward."³⁷² The rabbis ponder over the problem of the suffering of the righteous.³⁷³ BOUSSET's remark that "no Jewish pious teacher did or could utter St. Paul's proud word that the pious man glories in his tribulations (*Romans v. 3*)"³⁷⁴ is easily disproved.³⁷⁵ The very term "chastisements of love"³⁷⁶ is characteristic. In the passage quoted by PERLES³⁷⁷ the pious are said to act from motives of love and to rejoice in their tribulations.³⁷⁸

But over against the Divine Justice³⁷⁹ the Divine Mercy³⁸⁰ is never forgotten. "If I create the world to be governed by mercy, its sinners will be many; if I govern it by justice alone, how will it abide? So I will govern it by both: would then that it may abide!"³⁸¹ Significant is the passage from p. *Makk.* 31 d.³⁸² "Human wisdom, when asked, 'What shall be done with the sinner?', replieth, 'Evil pursueth sinners.'³⁸³ Prophecy replies to the same question: 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die.'³⁸⁴ The Law: 'Let him bring a guilt-offering, and the priest shall atone for him.'³⁸⁵ God: Let him repent, and he will be atoned for;³⁸⁶ for it is written: 'Good

³⁶⁷ צַדְקָה הָרִין 'Abod. zarah 18 a and in the Prayer Book.

³⁶⁸ E. g., *Baba batra* 15 b. ³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 16 ab. ³⁷⁰ *Sotah* v. 5.

³⁷¹ *Abot* ii. 14; see *ibid.*, 16 where note the addition: "And know the reward which is for the righteous in the world to come."

³⁷² *Ibid.*, i. 3. ³⁷³ צְדִיק וּרְעֵל e. g., *Brak.* 7 a. ³⁷⁴ P. 353 f.

³⁷⁵ See Perles, *loc. cit.*, 26 f. Bousset's rejoinder in his *Volksfrömmigkeit und Schriftgelehrtentum*, 1903, 12, footnote, is weak.

³⁷⁶ יִסְוֹרָן שֶׁל אַהֲבָה *Brak.* 5 a. ³⁷⁷ From *Šabb.* 88 b and parallels.

³⁷⁸ טַשִׁין מַאֲהָבָה וְשְׁמַחְיָן בִּיסְוָרָן מִדְתָּה הָרִין

³⁷⁹ מִdot הָרָחְמִים *Genes. rabb.* c. 12.

³⁸⁰ Quoted by Dr. Kohler in the article "Atonement" in the *Jewish Encycl.*

³⁸¹ *Prov.* xiii. 21. ³⁸² *Ezek.* xviii. 4. ³⁸³ *Levit.* i. 4. ³⁸⁴ עִשָּׂה תְּשׁוּבָה וַיַּחֲכַפֵּר.

and upright is the Lord: therefore will He teach sinners in the way (of repentance).'"³⁸⁷ The liturgy of the Day of Atonement teaches the fundamental doctrine of the forgiveness of sins which comes to those who truly repent. In the *Closing Prayer*³⁸⁸ we read: "Thou puttest forth Thy hand to transgressors, and Thy right hand is stretched out to receive the repentant. Thou knowest that our end is to be food for the worm; therefore dost Thou make plentiful our forgiveness. According to Thy great mercy, have mercy upon us; for Thou desirest not the destruction of the world, but art a God of forgiveness, gracious and compassionate, long-suffering, plentiful in mercy and abundant in doing good; Thou hast pleasure in the repentance of the wicked, and Thou desirest not their death." On the subject of vicarious atonement see Dr. K. KOHLER'S article. Rabbinic theology is certainly not favorable to it. "Happy are ye, Israelites," exclaims Akiba. "Before whom do you cleanse yourselves, and who cleanses you? Your Father in heaven!"³⁸⁹ By a play on the word מִפְדָּח,³⁹⁰ Akiba furthermore brings out the idea that "as the fountain of water purifies the unclean, so does God purify Israel."³⁹¹ "This doctrine," says KOHLER, "which does away with all mediatorship of either saint, high-priest or savior, became the leading idea of the Jewish Atonement." We ignore a large part of the rabbinic teaching if we say with BOUSSET³⁹² that "the foundation of Jewish piety is nevertheless the conviction of the disinterested, impartial justice of the Omnipotent God which pronounces judgment upon every man in accordance with his deeds. The grace and goodness of God is never the foundation of the religion, but a mere supplement or annex, a last resort, of which, however, the pious man is never quite certain." It may be conceded that Judaism is very jealous of its doctrine of retribution. It remembers indeed that a world governed according to mercy will produce sinners. The history of the Church proves that, where the doctrine of grace was emphasized in a one-sided manner, morality was re-

³⁸⁷ Ps. xxv. 8. See for further rabbinic illustrations of the doctrine of atonement Dr. Kohler's article referred to and the writer's article "Atonement, Day of" in the same publication.

³⁸⁸ Referred to above.

³⁸⁹ Ioma viii. 9.

³⁹⁰ Jerem. xiv. 8: "hope" or "fountain."

³⁹¹ Ioma viii. 9.

³⁹² P. 366.

laxed.³⁹³ But Judaism equally teaches that a world governed by strict justice alone cannot subsist. Justice and Grace—both are fundamental conceptions in Judaism. It may be said that New Year emphasizes the former, the Day of Atonement the latter. Between them are the penitential days, that is, Repentance. And, since Judaism regards the annual day of judgment as a symbol of the Divine justice which is exercised continually,³⁹⁴ it confronts the Jew with the admonition: Repent every day of thy life, for tomorrow thou mayest die.³⁹⁵ To spend one hour in repentance and good works is better than all the life of the world to come.³⁹⁶ But the opportunity for repentance is a privilege which may be withheld from the undeserving.³⁹⁷

The problem of the antinomy of the Divine Providence (Omniscience, the Divine Cause behind every human act) and Free Will occupied the attention of the mediæval Jewish philosophers from the time of SAADIA. MAIMUNI devotes to the subject several chapters of his *Guide*.³⁹⁸ “The theory of man's perfectly free will is one of the fundamental principles of the Law of our teacher Moses . . . According to this principle man does what is in his power to do, by his nature, his choice,³⁹⁹ and his will . . . All species of irrational animals likewise move by their own free will. This is the will of God; that is to say, it is due to the eternal divine will that all living beings should move freely, and that man should have power to act according to his will or choice within the limits of his capacity . . . An equally fundamental principle is that wrong cannot be ascribed to God in any way whatever; all evils and afflictions as well as all kinds of happiness of man . . . are the results of strict judgment that admits no wrong whatever.”⁴⁰⁰ MAIMUNI's theory is that “in the lower or sublunary portion of the Universe Divine Providence⁴⁰¹ does not extend to the individual members of

³⁹³ See e. g., Harnack, *loc. cit.*, 160.

³⁹⁴ See above.

³⁹⁵ *Sabbat* 153 a.

³⁹⁶ *Abot*. iv. 17.

³⁹⁷ See Maimuni, *תשובה*, c. iv. and sources and below under Eschatology.

³⁹⁸ *Guide*, III, c. xvi. ff. See also the shorter treatment in *תשובה*, c. v. f.; see Bernfeld's exposition, i. 289 ff.

³⁹⁹ וּבְכִירתוֹ וּבְאַכְתֵּבָרָה.

⁴⁰⁰ C. xvii.; Friedlander's translation.

⁴⁰¹ הַחֲשִׁנָּה אֱלֹהִות אֶלָּא לְהִיא.

species except in the case of mankind . . . Divine Providence is connected with Divine intellectual influence, and the same beings which are benefited by the latter so as to become intellectual, and to comprehend things comprehensible to rational beings, are also under the control of Divine Providence, which examines all their deeds with a view of rewarding or punishing them.'⁴⁰² From the premise that Divine Providence manifests itself to intellectual beings as in intellectual influence, MAIMUNI concludes that "the greater the proportion which a person has obtained of this Divine influence, on account of both his physical predisposition and his training, the greater must also be the effect of Divine Providence upon him, for the action of Divine Providence is proportional to the endowment of intellect."⁴⁰³ "The greater the human perfection a person has attained, the greater the benefit he derives from Divine Providence. This benefit is very great in the case of the prophets, and varies according to the degree of their prophetic faculty; as it varies in the case of pious and good men according to their piety and uprightness."⁴⁰⁴ But how is human freedom to be reconciled with the absolute foreknowledge and omniscience of the Deity? The answer is: "The fact that God knows things while in a state of possibility, when their existence belongs to the future, does not change the nature of the possible in any way . . . The knowledge of the realization of one of several possibilities does not effect that realization . . . The great doubt that presents itself to our mind is the result of the insufficiency of our intellect."⁴⁰⁵ The Divine knowledge is totally different from human knowledge. "Is there anything else common to both besides the mere name? According to our theory that God's knowledge is not different from His essence, there is an essential distinction between His knowledge and ours, like the distinction between the substance of the heavens and that of the earth. The prophets have clearly expressed it."⁴⁰⁶ In short, as we cannot accurately comprehend His essence, and yet we know that His existence is most perfect, free from all admixture of deficiency, change, or passiveness, so we have no correct notion of His knowledge, because it is nothing but His essence, and yet we are convinced that He does not at one time obtain knowledge which

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*⁴⁰³ C. xviii.⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*⁴⁰⁵ C. xx.⁴⁰⁶ He quotes *Isai.* iv. 8 f.

He had not before; *i. e.*, He obtains no new knowledge, He does not increase it, and it is not finite; nothing of all existing things escapes His knowledge, but their nature is not changed thereby; that which is possible remains possible.⁴⁰⁷ Thus MAIMUNI resorts to the argument of the Incomprehensibility of the Divine Essence⁴⁰⁸ in order to solve the momentous question of the relation of human freedom to Divine Providence and Prescience. ABRAHAM BEN DAVID⁴⁰⁹ regards his effort as a weak solution of a difficult question. But MAIMUNI is to be commended for resolutely brushing aside the fatalistic doctrines of some Mohammedan theologians.⁴¹⁰ Jewish ethics is rooted in the doctrine of human responsibility, that is, human freedom. Man is free to choose his conduct; man is free to sin; man is also free to repent and thus to be saved from the consequences of sin. MAIMUNI has also some very fine remarks on the futility of the arguments of the pessimists.⁴¹¹ MAIMUNI discards the view that the universe was created for the sake of man. "We remain firm in our belief that the whole Universe was created in accordance with the will of God, and we do not inquire for any other cause or object. Just as we do not ask what is the purpose of God's existence, so we do not ask what was the object of His will, which is the cause of the existence of all things with their present properties, both those that have been created and those that will be created."⁴¹² MAIMUNI translates *Prov.* xvi. 4: "The Lord hath made everything for His purpose."⁴¹³

D. ESCHATOLOGY (that is, doctrines concerning the hope and destiny of man; the term, of course, properly indicates the teaching concerning the final condition of humanity and of the world, the fate of the individual entering into account only in so far as he necessarily shares the destiny of the larger aggregate of which he is a part.⁴¹⁴ BÖKLEN⁴¹⁵ distinguishes between eschatology in the proper

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ See above.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ad תשובה* v. 5.

⁴¹⁰ *טפשי אומות העולם*

⁴¹¹ *Guide*, part iii., c. xi. f., c. xxii. ff.

⁴¹² C. xiii.

⁴¹³ The discussion of the post-Maimunian Jewish philosophers on the subject of Divine Providence and Free Will may be found in the second volume of Bernfeld's work. See also article "Free Will" in the *Jewish Encycl.*

⁴¹⁴ So Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, 1903, 1, and Dr. Kohler art. "Eschatology" in the *Jewish Encycl.*

⁴¹⁵ *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie*, 1902, 8.

sense and the teaching concerning the fate of the individual souls after death; but he finds that the two run into one another and are not always separable; he therefore treats them both under eschatology. It will be shown below how, in the course of the development of the eschatological dogma, the fate of the individual assumes such importance as to completely overshadow the questions concerning the world "at the end of days." In its last restatement, the eschatological dogma is concerned primarily with the individual, that is, is really psychological):

(9) THE PIous WHO IN THIS LIFE OBEY GOD'S LAW AND DO HIS WILL WITH A PERFECT HEART AND THOSE WHO TRULy REPENT SHALL, WHEN FREED FROM THEIR BODIES, AS IMMORTAL SOULS, ENJOY THE SPIRITUAL VISION OF GOD IN HIS OWN WORLD. TO BE DEBARRED FROM THIS BLISS MEANS ETERNAL DAMNATION.

MAIMUNI's thirteenth article: The Resurrection of the Dead. *תחיית המתים*. The fate of the individual after death, according to the conceptions of ancient Israel, is described by SCHWALLY,⁴¹⁶ BERTHOLET,⁴¹⁷ CHARLES.⁴¹⁸ "Death means (to the ancient Hebrews) an end of the earthly life, not the cessation of all existence: the person still subsists. The soul leaves the body in death (apparently), at least on the appearance of corruption. The soul therefore also dies. Its death, however, is not absolute. The departed possess a certain degree of self-consciousness and the power of speech and movement; a large measure of knowledge; acquaintance with the affairs of their living descendants and a keen interest in their fortunes; ability to forecast the future; the power of helping or injuring their descendants. The departed is introduced into the society of his ancestors. The abode of this society is the family grave or its immediate neighborhood. With the consolidation of single families into clans or tribes, and of these tribes in due time into the nation, all the graves of the tribe or nation are united in one. Sheol, at first the abode of the departed of the tribe or nation, be-

⁴¹⁶ *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892, c. i.

⁴¹⁷ *Die israclitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode* (a popular account), 1899.

⁴¹⁸ Art. "Eschatology" in the *Encycl. Biblica*, 1901, §§1-21.

comes at a later stage the final abode of all mankind, 'the house of meeting for all the living.'⁴¹⁹ Upon the view just presented rests the worship of ancestors or the dead generally, with which, as a survival from an older and quite primitive form of religion, Jahvism from its inception engages in irreconcilable strife. The cult of the dead with all the appertaining customs belongs rather to the folk religion. There is a later view, in part due to the protest of Jahvism, according to which death ensues on the removal of the 'spirit' to the presence of which is due the life of the 'soul.' Death, however, even here does not imply annihilation: the 'soul' still subsists in some sense. The subsistence, however, is purely shadowy and negative: all the faculties are suspended. The departed, moreover, are conceived as possessing not only a soul but also a shadowy body. The 'shades!'"⁴²⁰ The prophetic religion was not concerned with the fate of the individual: its eschatology is therefore purely national, it centers in the future national blessedness during the Messianic period and will accordingly be outlined below under article 10. The rise of individualism has been referred to;⁴²¹ also the beginnings of the hope in a future existence.⁴²² But only the beginnings. "The doctrine of an individual immortality failed to establish itself in the Old Testament. But the fate of the individual was now woven into the destiny of the nation. The two questions came to be regarded as essentially related. The righteous individual and the righteous nation must be blessed together—or rather the righteous man must ultimately be recompensed, not with a solitary immortality in heaven or elsewhere, but with a blessed resurrection—life with his brethren in the coming Messianic kingdom."⁴²³ The doctrine of a resurrection is enunciated *Isai.* xxvii. 1-19 and *Dan.* xii.⁴²⁴ "Thy dead shall arise; the inhabitants of the dust shall awake, and shout for joy; for a dew of light is Thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades."⁴²⁵ "And at that time (when the world-power is overthrown) shall Michael stand up, the great

⁴¹⁹ *Job xxx. 23.*

⁴²⁰ Reproduced from the above mentioned authors, but chiefly from Charles.

⁴²¹ See above.

⁴²² See above.

⁴²³ Charles, *loc. cit.*, §49.

⁴²⁴ The date of the former passage is uncertain: see Duhm's commentary and Cheyne's *Introduction.* ⁴²⁵ *Isai.* xxvi. 19; Cheyne's text and translation.

prince which standeth for the children of thy people (the patron-an angel of Israel) : and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book (the ‘register of the citizens of the Messianic kingdom’). And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life,⁴²⁶ and some to reproaches and everlasting abhorrence. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament (be eternally glorified); and they that make the many righteous (by warning, exhortation, and example of constancy) as the stars for ever and ever.”⁴²⁷ The resurrection here ushers in the Messianic era; the “many” who rise are the martyrs and apostates, the former for an everlasting life, the latter for an everlasting doom. “Thou miscreant,” says the second of the seven martyr-brothers to his tormentor, “dost take away from us this present life, but the King of the world shall raise up us, who have died for His laws, unto an eternal renewal of life (*εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς*).”⁴²⁸ Judas sent to Jerusalem an expiatory offering on behalf of those who had fallen in battle and with whom heathenish amulets had been found, “doing therein right well and excellently, in that he took thought for the resurrection. For if he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and foolish to pray for the dead. Then he looked unto the glorious reward laid up for them who die in godliness: a holy and godly thought! wherefore he made the propitiation for them that had died that they might be released from their sin.”⁴²⁹ The hope of the resurrection is by and by extended to the righteous in general.⁴³⁰ According to JOSEPHUS⁴³¹ the Pharisees taught that “every soul is

⁴²⁶ מְלָא כְּנָס.

⁴²⁷ *Dan.* xii. 1-3. The translation and interpretation from Driver’s commentary.

⁴²⁸ *II Macc.* vii. 9; see also verses 11, 14, 23, 29.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, xii. 43 ff.

⁴³⁰ See the references to the apocalyptic literature in Volz, *loc. cit.*, 240 ff. In *Luke* xiv. 14, “the resurrection of the just” is spoken of; comp. *ibid.*, xx. 36 where those worthy of the resurrection are spoken of as “sons of the resurrection.”

⁴³¹ Schürer, II, 391.

imperishable; but only the souls of the good are transferred to another body, while those of the wicked are subjected to everlasting punishment;" or, as it reads in another passage, "they believe that the souls possess an immortal faculty, and that under the ground there are punishments and rewards for them who during their life devoted themselves to virtue or to wickedness—an eternal prison for the ones, but for the others the possibility of a return to life."⁴²² On the other hand, in several apocalyptic writings a general resurrection for the righteous and wicked is spoken of.⁴²³ The belief in the resurrection which, as we saw above, is nascent in a few Psalms and in Job and viewed skeptically in Ecclesiastes, thus becomes one of the chief elements in the apocalyptic visions of the future; rejected by the Sadducees (according to the testimony of JOSEPHUS, the New Testament and the rabbis), it is an undisputed dogma in the Pharisaic schools. "He who says that there is no resurrection⁴²⁴ will not participate in the everlasting life (and hence is no Jew)."⁴²⁵ In the Prayer Book God is invoked as "the Mighty One, who bringeth the dead back to life with great mercy and keepeth faith with those who sleep in the dust (a reminiscence from *Dan.*)."⁴²⁶ Compare also the prayer:⁴²⁷ "My God, the soul (*נשׁה* 'breath') which Thou hast given unto me is pure. Thou hast created it, Thou hast formed it, Thou hast breathed it into me,"⁴²⁸ Thou keepest it in my body and, some day, Thou wilt take it from me, but restore it unto me in the time which is to come."⁴²⁹ Note the strictly individualistic tone.

The belief in resurrection has been assumed by some scholars to

⁴²² Compare also the passage from *c. Apion.* quoted by Bousset, 259, footnote 1.

⁴²³ For reference see Volz, 243 ff.

⁴²⁴ On the addition *מן התורה* see Schechter, *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 56, footnote 1; the words, if retained, might be freely, yet correctly, translated "as an element of the Jewish religion."

⁴²⁵ *Sanh.* x. 1. For mishnic-talmudic references to the subject see Castelli, "The Future Life in Rabbinical Literature," *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 319 ff. and Volz, *loc cit.*, 246 ff., who rightly points out that it is not always easy to ascertain whether in them a partial (so clearly *Ta'anit 7 a*) or general resurrection is presupposed. See, however, below.

⁴²⁶ In the second of the *Eighteen Benedictions*. ⁴²⁷ Taken from *Brak.* 60 b.

⁴²⁸ *Genes.* ii. 7.

⁴²⁹ *לעולם לשתייר*, eschatological term.

be of foreign, in particular, Persian, origin. The latest statement of the problem and its solution along the lines just indicated may be found in the concluding chapter of BOUSSET's work frequently quoted above. DR. KOHLER, in the article referred to, likewise speaks of Persian influences. The question, to say the least, is an open one. See BÖKLEN's monograph referred to above. But whether the belief originated from within, along the lines of internal development (so CHARLES; also WELLHAUSEN!), or came from without, it was, it may be clearly seen, thoroughly assimilated and became an important part of the body of Jewish doctrines subject, of course, to future re-formulation.

The Day of Judgment represents a development from the earlier "Day of Jahve." In Jahvism, *i. e.*, the pre-prophetic stage of the religion, the term stood for a day when Jahve came to do battle for his people and to grant them victory.⁴⁰ To this popular conception Amos⁴¹ opposed his own idea of a day of judgment upon the doomed nation.⁴² In other words: Amos, no less than the people, looks upon the coming day of Jahve as the day upon which Jahve will manifest himself in His Divine majesty; but the prophet goes his own way in that for him the assertion of the Divine majesty consists in the vindication of His absolute righteousness against a sinful people. The "Day of Jahve" thus assumes an ethical, supranational aspect. To Isaiah⁴³ it is likewise a day upon which all that is high and lofty, whether in nature or made by man, cedars and oaks and mountains and hills, towers and citadels and ships and palaces, shall be made low, the nothingness of human power and pride become manifest and Jahve alone be recognized as exalted. "In the same measure, however, as Israel suffers defeat at the hand of the great world-powers, the Day of the Lord in the prophetic conception becomes a day of wrath for the heathen world and of triumph for Israel."⁴⁴ The destruction of the arch-enemy of God's people (Gog and Magog, the Antichrist, etc.) is to precede the Messianic era. See the description of the scene of judgment *Dan.* vii. 9 ff. In the later apocalyptic literature and in rabbinic

⁴⁰ See Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, 398.

⁴¹ v. 18 ff.

⁴² ii. 12 ff.

17

⁴³ Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, V (1893), 82. 94.

⁴⁴ Art. "Eschatology," *Jew Encycl.*

writings we meet with the Last Judgment proper which is placed at the end of this aeon after the resurrection and before the regeneration of the world.⁴⁴⁵ "The soul is restored to the body, and both are judged together."⁴⁴⁶ The Mishna⁴⁴⁷ enumerates certain generations which are excluded even from the resurrection leading up to the judgment;⁴⁴⁸ others are again to rise, but will be condemned in judgment and thus excluded from eternal life;⁴⁴⁹ the righteous will be rewarded with the life everlasting. According to the school of Shammai "those who come up for judgment"⁴⁵⁰ will be divided into three classes, the thoroughly just, the thoroughly wicked, and those who are intermediate: the thoroughly pious will forthwith be written (into the Book of Life)⁴⁵¹ for the life everlasting;⁴⁵² the perfectly wicked will be inscribed (in a corresponding book) for Hell (Gehinnom),⁴⁵³ the intermedias will descend into Hell and chirp (cry)⁴⁵⁴ and go up again;⁴⁵⁵ it is with reference to them that Hannah said: 'The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: He bringeth down to Sheol, and bringeth up.'⁴⁵⁶ But the school of Hillel say: 'And plenteous in mercy,'⁴⁵⁷ that means, He inclines (the balance) towards mercy (hence the intermedias do not descend to Hell); with reference to them David said: 'I love the Lord, because He hath heard my voice, etc.'⁴⁵⁸ But Jews who sin with their body, and the Gentiles who sin with their body, will go down into Hell and be judged (punished) there for twelve months, after which their body will be wasted and their soul burned and the ashes scattered by the wind under the soles of the feet of the just.⁴⁵⁹ The heretics⁴⁶⁰ and informers and the Epicureans who say that there is no (Divine) Law and no resurrection and those who segregate themselves from the com-

⁴⁴⁵ See Volz, 257 ff. ⁴⁴⁶ *Sanh.* 91 b. ⁴⁴⁷ *Sanh.* x. 3. ⁴⁴⁸ אין עוכדין ברין.

⁴⁴⁹ אין להם חלק לעורם הבה.

⁴⁵⁰ ל' ימים ברין, the Last Judgment is meant; see Rashi.

⁴⁵¹ See above.

⁴⁵² *לְחֵי עַולְמָה.* ⁴⁵³ *Dan.* xii. 2 is quoted.

⁴⁵⁴ So Rashi who adds: because of the pain for one hour; the word is the same as *Isai.* viii. 19; Levy, IV, 212 a, attempts another rendering.

⁴⁵⁵ *Zech.* xiii. 9: "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on My name, and I will hear them" is quoted; hence we have here the idea of Purgatory.

⁴⁵⁶ *I Sam.* ii. 6.

⁴⁵⁷ *Exod.* xxxiv. 6.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ps.* cxvi. 1-6.

⁴⁵⁹ *Malachi* iii. 21 is quoted.

⁴⁶⁰ כנין.

munity and those who 'cause terror of themselves in the land of the living' and those who sinned and induced others to sin, as Jeroboam son of Nebat and the like, will descend into Hell and be judged therein forever:⁴⁶¹ Hell may cease to be, but they will not cease (to suffer)."⁴⁶² It is clear that in the Last Judgment all mankind are to be judged; hence the resurrection is general for Jews and non-Jews and for all classes of men. The Mishna, it is true, speaks only of Israel as participating in the bliss of the world to come.⁴⁶³ In the Tosefta⁴⁶⁴ Rabbi Eliezer delivers himself of the opinion that all the heathens are to be excluded from the life everlasting; but he is opposed by Rabbi Joshua who holds that only heathen sinners will be excluded, "but the just among the Gentiles will participate in the eternal life." Eternal damnation for reprobate sinners is also taught *Sanh.* 90 b: "'That soul shall be utterly cut off,'⁴⁶⁵ in this world and in the world to come." On the character and place of future damnation or beatitude see Volz.⁴⁶⁶ Over against the concrete popular conceptions we find rationalizing and spiritualizing expressions. "There will be no Hell," says Simon ben Lakiš, "in the world to come; but God will take the sun out of its case, the pious will be healed and the wicked judged thereby."⁴⁶⁷ "In the world to come there will be neither eating, nor drinking, nor procreation, nor barter, nor envy, nor hatred, nor strife; but the righteous will sit with their crowns on their heads and enjoy the splendor of the Divine Presence."⁴⁶⁸ "All the bliss promised by the prophets refers only to the Messianic days; but as for the world to come, 'no eye hath seen it beside Thee, O God!'"⁴⁶⁹

Elsewhere we meet with the conception that immediately after death the righteous go to Heaven (Paradise, Gan Eden) and the wicked to Hell.⁴⁷⁰ But the two conceptions seem to overlap; nor is

⁴⁶¹ *Isai.* lxvi. 24 is quoted.

⁴⁶² *R. ha-sanah* 16 b. f.; see Tosefta *Sanh.* xiii. 3-5.

⁴⁶³ *Sanh.* x. 1.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii. 2; the text is much clearer there than *Sanh.* 105 a.

⁴⁶⁵ *Num.* xv. 51. ⁴⁶⁶ P. 282 ff., 325 ff. ⁴⁶⁷ *Ndar.* 8 b and parallels.

⁴⁶⁸ *Brak.* 17 a.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 34 b.

⁴⁷⁰ See *Brak.* 28 b; 16 b quoted by Volz, 377; also *Smahot* viii. (where, however, the reference is to a martyr); *Eduii.* ii. 10 (see the commentaries); comp. also Prof. Blau's art. "Gehenna" in the *Jew. Encycl.*, Dr. Kohler in the art. "Eschatology" and particularly Castelli, *loc. cit.*, 337 ff.

it always easy to tell whether, in a given passage, the one or the other is meant.

With PHILO the doctrine of retribution is stripped of its eschatological character. He knows of no Last Judgment; the doctrine of the resurrection is foreign to his philosophy. "This dualistic world of mind and matter will last to eternity. It will always be the same struggle, the same contrast. Within these eternal contrasts, man, at all times and under all circumstances, is confronted by the same task to remind himself of his better self, to turn away from the lower world and mode of existence and to find the way back to the heavenly home, to God. The wise and the pious succeed in so doing in this life. Moreover, he who in this life has exercised and strengthened his better self, his soul, after death, is lifted up into the higher spheres. When one looks upon the totality of individuals, then, in eternal rotation, the souls keep ascending and descending from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven in accordance with their merit and their worth."⁴⁷¹ Thus PHILO transcends the conceptions of Wisdom which are still largely eschatological.⁴⁷²

In the Middle Ages, it is MAIMUNI who took up the spiritualizing thread in rabbinic literature,⁴⁷³ and, himself fecundated by a spirit kindred to the Philonian, accordingly re-formulated the dogma of the resurrection. At the outset, it should be noticed how, again in line with rabbinic thought,⁴⁷⁴ he takes it out of its traditional connection with the Messianic era. He finds that the Jews of his day hold confused views on the subject of the beatitude or misery in store for those who keep or transgress the Law of Moses. "Thus some believe that beatitude means going to the Garden of Eden (Paradise) which is a place where men will eat and drink without labor or exertion, the houses be built of precious stones, the couches spread with silks, and where there will be rivers of wine and scented oil, and the like; while the place of misery is Gehinnom (Hell), a place burning with fire in which the bodies are consumed, where men will be tortured with various kinds of pain too many to be enumerated. A second class identifies the hoped for beatitude

⁴⁷¹ Bousset, 416; see also Volz, *loc. cit.*, 51 f. ⁴⁷² See Volz, *loc. cit.*, 50 f.

⁴⁷³ See the reference above.

⁴⁷⁴ See below under article 10.

with the days of the Messiah; they believe that in that period men will be kings of high stature, living forever and occupying the entire earth to eternity. The Messiah, they claim, will live as long as God Himself. The earth will then produce woven garments and baked bread and many other impossible things. Misery means, for a man not to live in those days. A third class looks for the beatitude in the resurrection. When a man is restored to life, they believe, he will return to his family and friends and eat and drink and die no more. Misery means exclusion from this second life. A fourth class thinks that the beatitude consists in the enjoyment of rest and in the attainment of worldly desires in this life, as fertility of the soil, wealth, many children, health, security, a Jewish ruler, dominion over our enemies; while misery consists in the opposite which is indeed our lot in our present condition. A fifth class combines all the elements aforementioned in the expected beatitude: the coming of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead and the Paradise where men will eat and drink and be in good health as long as heaven and earth will last. As for that wonderful article, *viz.*, the world which is to come, you will find few who at all give it a thought or take it as a fundamental or make any inquiry concerning the goods aforementioned, whether it, the future world, or any other of those goods is the final end or only a means to that end. Instead, both the common people and the intelligent keep inquiring, How are the dead to rise, naked or clad? in the very shrouds in which they were buried, in their original texture and color and make, or just with a covering about their bodies? and, in the Messianic era, will there be such difference as rich and poor, strong and weak? and similar questions are propounded by them at all times. Now, dear reader, listen to this parable in order that you may the more readily understand what I have to say later on the subject. Imagine a little boy who is taken to school where he may learn the Law which is indeed a great good inasmuch as it helps him in the attainment of perfection; but because of his young age and the weakness of his intellect he is unable to understand the greatness of that good or the value of the perfection which will come to him through it; so the more perfect (mature) teacher is compelled to resort to promises of things a little boy will like so as to have him apply himself to reading.

The teacher then says to the boy, Read, and we will give you nuts, or figs, or a piece of sugar. The boy proceeds to read, not because he understands the value of the study, but because of those sweetmeats which he certainly likes better than all the lessons; he submits to the hardship of study as a means to the end of obtaining his sweetmeats. When the boy grows up, and sweetmeats no more tempt him, they will promise him a new pair of shoes, or a new suit of clothes, or money, when he grows still older; or, as he advances in maturity, they will tell him, Study, and you will become a rabbi and be honored by everybody. All those devices, though despicable, are resorted to because of the boy's undeveloped intellect which causes him to seek for the end of knowledge, outside knowledge. To say, Wherefore shall we acquire this science unless we profit thereby? is indeed great folly. Of such study our rabbis say that it is pursued 'not for its own sake.'⁴⁷⁶ Our rabbis further exhort us⁴⁷⁸ not to make of the Law a crown to play the great man with, or a hoe to dig with; this means that we should not make it the end of knowledge to bring us honor or wealth or even a livelihood; for we should cultivate knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone, and truth for the sake of truth alone. It is therefore not proper for a perfect (mature) man to say, If I do all the good and avoid all the evil which God has forbidden, what will be my reward? just as the little boy says, What am I to get for reading? Our rabbis indeed exhort that no man should make of the service of God and of obedience to His commandments a means for attaining an ulterior purpose. Thus Antigonus of Soko, the perfect man who attained to a true conception of things, teaches:⁴⁷⁷ 'Be not as slaves who minister to their master with a view to recompense; but be as slaves who serve their master without the expectation of reward!' That is, a man should believe in truth for truth's sake. The rabbis say of such a man that he serves God out of love.⁴⁷⁸ They also say with reference to Ps. cxii. 1: "That delighteth greatly in His commandments; in His commandments, but not in their reward."⁴⁷⁹ Still higher is the exhortation in *Sifre*:⁴⁸⁰ "Perchance thou wilt say, I will study that I may be rich, or

⁴⁷⁶ שלא לשמה ⁴⁷⁸ *Abot* iv. 5.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ עובד מאהבה .

⁴⁷⁹ *Abod. zarah* 19 a.

⁴⁸⁰ Section עקב on *Deut.* xi. 22.

that I may be called a doctor, or that I may receive reward in the future world. Therefore Scripture says: 'To love the Lord your God': do whatever you do out of love."⁴⁸¹ Of our father Abraham the rabbis say⁴⁸² that he attained to that high stage of serving God out of love. Towards that goal we ought to strive. Our rabbis, however, since they knew what a difficult matter that is, how it is beyond the reach of the average man who, at first sight, will refuse to consent to such a proposition or to regard it as rational (for as a rule a man does nothing unless he will benefit or avoid an evil thereby)—he will therefore say that it is futile to ask of anyone to act without an ulterior purpose; how indeed will you say to a man who strives to live up to the Law, Do this or shun that, not because of fear of the Divine punishment, nor in order to receive reward? Indeed, this is a difficult matter, for not every man is able to comprehend the truth and to become as perfect as Abraham—therefore our rabbis have permitted the common people, in order that they might be steadfast in their faith, to do the good deeds with the expectation of reward and to shun the evil for fear of punishment; indeed those hopes and fears are held out to them until they grow stronger and maturer and able to comprehend the truth, exactly in the same manner as the little boy is trained; that is why the rabbis objected to the words of Antigonus because they were addressed to the common people, and warned the sages to be cautious in their words.⁴⁸³ Now, the common people lose nothing by obeying the Law because of the fear of punishment or from the expectation of reward, except that they are less perfect; nevertheless, it is very good for them, for they thus cultivate good habits and train their will so that in the end they may strive to know the truth and to serve God out of love. Hence the rabbis teach: "A man shall always busy himself in the Law, even not for its own sake; for from studying the Law not for its own sake he will come to study it for its own sake."⁴⁸⁴ Know that, just as little as a blind man can conceive of color, or a deaf man of sound, can bodies conceive of the pleasures of the soul. And just as the fishes do not comprehend

⁴⁸¹ In Friedmann's edition there is a different reading.

⁴⁸² *Sotah* 31 a.

⁴⁸³ *Abot* i. 11.

⁴⁸⁴ *Psahim* 50 a and parallels.

what fire is, because they live in water which is its opposite, so it is impossible to comprehend in this corporeal world the pleasures of the spiritual world.⁴⁸⁵ For in this world we have nothing except the pleasures of the body which are conveyed to us through our senses, like eating and drinking and love; we possess no other pleasures, nor can we conceive them by superficial thinking, except perhaps by much diligent study. It is quite proper that it should be so. For we live in the corporeal world; we therefore know only its pleasures. The pleasures of the soul are perpetual, everlasting; nor is there any relation between those pleasures and the pleasures of the body. It is certainly not proper for us who follow the Law or for the theologians among the philosophers to deny that the angels, stars, or spheres have their pleasures. Of a truth, they have a very great pleasure which consists in their true conception of God; that pleasure, indeed, is everlasting, uninterrupted; of course, they have no bodily pleasures, nor have they any conception of them, for they are without the senses which we have and by means of which we perceive objects. Likewise, those of us who become worthy of attaining that degree after death, will no more perceive the pleasures of the body, nor indeed have any desire for them, just as a king will be interested in the extension of his dominion and find no pleasure in games of ball of which he was fond in his boyhood when the difference between the two kinds of interest were unknown to him, just as we in this life do not understand the difference between the pleasures of the body and those of the soul, preferring the former to the latter. But when you reflect upon the value of the two kinds of pleasure, you will recognize the meanness of the one and the greatness of the other, even in this life. For most men, indeed all, will labor hard with their body and soul in order to rise to a position of honor; yet it is not the pleasure which one derives from eating and drinking. Still other men will set the desire of avenging themselves upon their enemies above many pleasures of the body. Many men will also abstain from the greatest pleasure of the body for fear of shame or because they wish to make for themselves a good reputation. If this (hierarchy of pleasures and the preference

⁴⁸⁵ אליעלם אלרוחאני.

of the pleasures of the soul) obtains in this life, how much the more so in the spiritual world which is the future world⁴⁸⁶ where our souls will be in a position to know God quite as well as, nay better than, the higher, celestial, bodies. That pleasure cannot be distributed into parts nor told, nor can any similitude thereof be found. Thus the prophet, reflecting upon the greatness of that bliss, exclaims: ‘Oh how great is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee!’⁴⁸⁷ Similarly our rabbis.⁴⁸⁸ ‘With their crowns on their head,’ this refers to the immortality of the soul,⁴⁸⁹ inasmuch as its object of cognition, that is God, is everlasting; for God and the object of the Divine knowledge are one, according to the proofs of the philosophers which it is impossible to reproduce here. ‘And enjoy the splendor of the Divine Presence,’ this refers to their power of knowing God in the same degree as the higher intelligences. Thus our beatitude and final aim consists in being admitted to that high society and attaining that high stage of immortality, the everlasting life of the soul which, as we saw, is necessitated by the eternity of Him who is the cause of the immortality of the soul that once perceives Him. Similarly, the greatest punishment is the death of the soul, its perfect annihilation.”⁴⁹⁰ MAIMUNI emphatically asserts that Hell is not a place, but a name for the punishment and humiliation which shall overtake the wicked. MAIMUNI really places the beatitude of immortality in this life. “When a man believes that in the prophetic revelation we possess a knowledge of the Divine will as to what is right and what is wrong, he should, as a man in the right disposition, follow what is right and abstain from the wrong; thereby he realizes the ideal of man and distinguishes himself from the brute creature; there is then nothing that prevents the immortality of the soul and its everlasting life conditioned by the everlasting duration of its object of cognition, God; *that* is the future world.”⁴⁹¹ The dogma of the resur-

⁴⁸⁶ אלעאלם אלנפשאני והוא העולם הבא

⁴⁸⁷ Ps. xxxi. 20.

⁴⁸⁸ Brak. 17 a is quoted; see above.

⁴⁸⁹ חזארות הנפש בכא אלנפש

⁴⁹⁰ Sanh. 90 b is quoted.—From the excursus to Sanh. x. 1.

⁴⁹¹ See תשובה, viii. ff.; in viii. 8 is clearly enunciated that the future world is now in existence, thus the eschatological traditions are consciously cut through (see Abraham ben David's criticism).

rection, in the re-formulation which MAIMUNI gives it, becomes one of the immortality of the soul. While MAIMUNI emphatically limits the beatitude of immortality to the righteous and quite as emphatically asserts the eternal damnation of the wicked, he includes in the membership of the righteous those who truly repent. "Let no man who truly repents imagine that he is removed from the stage of the righteous because of his former sins; on the contrary, he is beloved of God as if he had never sinned. Indeed, his reward is still greater, inasmuch, as having tasted of sin, he separated from it and subdued his evil impulse. The rabbis say: 'Where the repentant sinners stand, the perfectly pious are not able to stand.'⁴⁰² The greatest sinners may be saved through repentance.⁴⁰³ Yet there are sins so grave that their perpetrator is denied the opportunity of repenting.⁴⁰⁴

On the subject of infant salvation we find among the rabbis a wide divergence of opinion. According to some even still-born children are destined to rise. Others confine the resurrection to those born alive. But others maintain that only those who had been circumcised before they died will rise; or, those who had learned to speak; or, those who had learned to say Amen (after prayers).⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² *Brak.* 34 b.—תשובה, vii. 4.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, iii. 14; iv. 6.

⁴⁰⁴ אֵין מְסֻפִּין בַּדָּו לְעֹשֹׂת תְּשׁוּבָה *Abot.* v. 18. Maimuni seems to contradict himself *iv. 1* and *6*. But he certainly assumes that some sinners will die without repentance; their lot is eternal damnation. Observe also that in תְּשׁוּבָה *f.* Maimuni simply codifies the teaching of the rabbis. His own Heaven is indeed within the reach of but the few elect. Comp. also *Guide*, ii. 51.

⁴⁰⁵ See *Sanh.* 110 b.; *Ktub.* 111 a; p. *Šbi'it* ch. iv., at the end. See also Crescas אָוֶר הַחֲשָׁרָות, ed. Vienna, 89 b. f., who discusses the matter with reference to immortality (*הַחֲשָׁרָה*). On metempsychosis (chiefly kabbalistic doctrine) see Castelli, *loc cit.*, 351 f. "According to this (kabbalistic) doctrine sin and hell cannot endure forever, but at last all souls are destined to be purified, and to return to the region of absolute goodness and perfection. In short, as one of the most celebrated Kabbalists teaches, 'In truth, thou hast nothing eternal, if not on the side of good.'"

E. CHRISTOLOGY OR ECCLESIOLOGY (that is, **doctrines** concerning the election, vocation and future of the community of Israel): (10) IN AND THROUGH ISRAEL THERE SHALL BE REALIZED THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM OF PEACE AND MORAL PERFECTION AND FULNESS OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

MAIMUNI'S twelfth article: The Days of the Messiah.⁴⁹⁶ With just as good a right it might have been inscribed: The Election of (the People, or Community, of) Israel.⁴⁹⁷ SELLIN⁴⁹⁸ seeks to prove that even in the popular religion of pre-prophetic times the relation of Israel to Jahve was based upon an historical act of election on the part of Jahve and therefore considered as (morally) conditioned and dissoluble. The opposite view which he combats is that of SMEND, who sums up the current opinion of the school to which he belongs by maintaining that "ancient Israel looked upon the relation of Jahve and itself as naturally given, primitive and indissoluble."⁴⁹⁹ SMEND makes the prophets responsible for the thought of the dissolubility of the relation between Jahve and Israel. Upon the prophetic teaching rests the doctrine taught in the Law "according to which Jahve as the God of heaven and earth chose this one nation from among all other nations, offered Himself as its God and fixed the conditions upon which He wished to be the God of the people, so that, if Israel chose to fulfil those conditions, the people was promised Jahve's grace, while it was threatened with His wrath if it chose to neglect them, such being the terms of the covenant to which Jahve and Israel solemnly bound themselves."⁵⁰⁰ The doctrine of the election of Israel is enunciated in the deuteronomistic writings; it is made the subject of reflection and hence partakes of the nature of a dogma. The standard passage is *Deut.* vii. 6. "For thou art a holy people unto Jahve thy God: Jahve thy God hath chosen (בָּחָר) thee to be a choice⁵⁰¹ people unto Himself, out of all the peoples that are upon the face of the earth."⁵⁰² The writer reflects

⁴⁹⁶ מוות המשיח.

⁴⁹⁷ בחרת (יעם, כנסת) ישראלי.

⁴⁹⁸ "Jahves Verhältnis zum israelitischen Volk" (in his *Beiträge zur Israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft I), 1896.

⁴⁹⁹ Smend, 117 ff., 293 ff.

⁵⁰⁰ P. 117.

⁵⁰¹ On the meaning of סגלה see Driver *ad locum*.

⁵⁰² The verse is almost identical with xiv. 2.

upon the reason of the election of Israel. "Jahve did not set His love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all peoples; but because Jahve loved you, and because He would keep the oath which He swear unto your fathers, hath Jahve brought you out with a mighty hand."⁵⁰³ In iv. 37 the love of the fathers is alone given as the motive. Comp. also x. 14 f. "Behold, unto Jahve thy God belongeth the heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth, with all that therein is. Only Jahve had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and He chose their seed after them, even you out of all peoples." Similarly *Exod.* xix. 5 f.⁵⁰⁴ The act of the Divine election is invariably identified with the deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The prerogative which Israel enjoys to be a people set apart from among all the nations involves great obligations, "to fear Jahve, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve Him with the whole soul, and to keep His commandments, and His statutes."⁵⁰⁵ Jahve will have Israel as His people only as long as it obeys His will and remains true to its solemn covenant. But Jahve will cast Israel away, as soon as it breaks that covenant.⁵⁰⁶ The Deuteronomic Law, together with the writings that cluster around it, approves itself as a worthy successor of pre-exilic prophecy whose preaching of uncompromising loyalty to the holy will of Jahve it accepts as the sole condition for the right relations between God and His people.

The first of the pre-exilic prophets to preach the dissolubility of the relations between Jahve and Israel is Amos. "You only do I know of all the families of the earth therefore—I will visit upon you all your iniquities."⁵⁰⁷ "The prerogative is admitted; but it is a dangerous prerogative: for also the sins of Israel are better known to Jahve than those of other nations."⁵⁰⁸ "Amos destroys the religious illusion of his countrymen."⁵⁰⁹ The bond that unites Jahve to Israel is not natural, but moral; it does not find expression in sacrificial communion, but in obedience to His demands of justice. "The day of Jahve is an object of hope to the people at

⁵⁰³ Verse 7 f.

⁵⁰⁴ Deuteronomistic; see Holzinger *ad locum*.—Comp. also *Deut.* xxxii. 9.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.* x. 12 f.; comp. xxvi. 16-19.

⁵⁰⁶ *Deut.* xxviii. f. ⁵⁰⁷ *Amos.* iii. 2. ⁵⁰⁸ Wellhausen *ad locum*. ⁵⁰⁹ *Id.*

large to whom the present appears oppressive and insecure: Jahve cannot remain inactive forever; at some point He must intervene. They are convinced that when He does step in, it will be in favor of His people. They long for the coming of the great crisis which with one stroke will inaugurate the new and beautiful era without so much as their moving a finger. ‘You know what kind of a people we Russians are. We always hope that something or somebody will turn up to heal once for all all our wounds, to rid us once for all of all our ailings as if of a sick tooth.’ Amos, much more emphatically than Tolstoi, protests against this pious illusion. He would also have protested against the belief in a Messiah, if he had known of it.”⁶¹⁰ The Messianic appendix⁶¹¹ is regarded as spurious by WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, SMEND. On the Messianic passages in the pre-exilic prophets in general we possess a monograph by VOLZ.⁶¹² VOLZ agrees with the above named scholars in regard to the spuriousness of *Amos ix. 8 ff.* He holds that the prophecy cannot be ascribed to Amos because of several details (like the fall of the Davidic dynasty, the mention of Edom, etc.) which betray exilic or post-exilic conditions; but he objects to the view of WELLHAUSEN and the other scholars who deny that Amos looked forward to a brighter future for his people. To them Amos is the uncompromising preacher of justice; it is by the standard of justice that Jahve governs the world; the sinful nation is doomed; the Divine decree is irrevocable. But even if v. 13-15 be eliminated as spurious,⁶¹³ there remains v. 4: “Seek ye me, and ye shall live.” Now, it may be said that the prophet does not expect his advice to be heeded. But he does offer it, nevertheless. That is, the Israel that *is*; the actual people, is rejected; but there arises before the prophet’s vision the Israel as it should and might be, the *ideal* Israel. It must be admitted that Amos is too one-sidedly a castigator of the present order to give himself over to the expectation of the better future. The pessimist, in his hour, is the messenger of Providence. The man of strong faith will come after him and supplement him: despair will yield to hope, and the Israel as it

⁶¹⁰ *Id.*⁶¹¹ *Amos ix. 8 ff.*⁶¹² *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, 1897. ⁶¹³ Volz, 18.

should or might be will give way to the Israel that, in the distant future, shall surely become what it should be. This is the Messianic idea in essence; and, while it is wanting in Amos, he nevertheless paved the way for it.

Hos. iii, 5, the words: "and David their King" are universally rejected as an interpolation. Equal unanimity obtains among critics with regard to ii. 193. NOWACK follows VOLZ in excising iii. 5 (the entire verse) and ii. 16-18; 20-25. VOLZ also rejects as certainly or probably spurious v. 15 b - vi. 3; x. 12, 13 a; xi. 8-11; xii. 4 b - 7, 13; xiv. 2-9; NOWACK excises the suspected passages in xi. and xii., but retains the other prophecies of restoration at least in substance. The unity of the book is doubted by VOLZ; it is maintained by WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, SMEND. The allegory of Jahve's marriage with Israel, it is conceded by VOLZ, is based upon conceptions which are somewhat akin to the Messianic idea. Jahve loves Israel, "though they turn unto other gods," quite as much as the prophet loves his faithless spouse.⁵¹⁴ Not as a stern judge, but as the wronged, yet affectionate husband, as a loving father,⁵¹⁵ will Jahve punish Israel; the punishment must arouse in the people sentiments of affection towards Jahve; it is to be disciplinary, educational and to lead to repentance. It is true that in the present Israel's repentant mood is as short-lived as the morning cloud; but some day, after a period of suffering, the prophet hopes, Israel will in all earnestness return unto Jahve.

Hosea's rejection of the monarchy cannot, of course, be reconciled with the expectation of a future ideal ruler which an interpolator has put into his mouth;⁵¹⁶ it, nevertheless, contributed towards the development of the Messianic idea. For the latter is based upon the idea of the theocracy, and the idea of the theocracy is an outgrowth of the prophetic rejection of the monarchy.⁵¹⁷ "For they have not rejected thee," thus the deuteronomistic writer makes Jahve speak of the people who asked for a king, "but they have rejected Me, that I should not be king over them."⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁴ iii. 1.

⁵¹⁵ xi. 1, 3.

⁵¹⁶ See above.

⁵¹⁷ See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 1886, 435.

⁵¹⁸ *I Sam.* viii. 7; comp. x. 19; xii. 12, 19; see Wellhausen, *Composition*, 1889, 246.

Isai. ix. 1-6; xi 1-8, not to mention other passages which are doubtful, are unmistakably Messianic, that is, speak of the future ruler upon the throne of David. They are rejected as spurious by STADE, HACKMANN,⁵¹⁹ CHEYNE;⁵²⁰ on the other hand, their genuineness is maintained by WELLHAUSEN, SMEND, DUHM. But, even if we let those and the similar passages go, there remains the indubitable fact that Isaiah, while preaching the doom of Judah, hoped for the conversion of a "remnant."⁵²¹ The better Israel of the future shall surely come to be, no matter how small its nucleus. However we may interrupt the enigmatic Immanuel (c. vii.), Isaiah knows himself in conflict with the actual ruler: the rejection of the present order of things is a Messianic element. The triumph of Jahve over "all that is exalted" in nature and in man⁵²² is another element which made for the idea of theocracy. Thus Isaiah, if not the first expounder of the Messianic hope, certainly, no less than Hosea, prepared the way for it.

On *Micah* i. 12 f.; v. 1-4⁵²³ see VOLZ.⁵²⁴ On iv. 1-4 (= *Isai.* ii. 2-4) see HACKMANN, CHEYNE.⁵²⁵ Chapters iv. and v. are discussed by STADE.⁵²⁶ Thus the prophet to whom only chapters i.-iii. may be ascribed was like his predecessors a prophet of evil; the consolations inserted in, or attached to, his discourses betray a later date; at any rate, they do not belong to Micah. This is in the main the opinion of WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, SMEND. *Isai.* ii. 2-4 is left to Isaiah by DUHM.

The strictly Messianic passages in Jeremiah⁵²⁷ are discussed by VOLZ.⁵²⁸ His conclusions are accepted by me in the forthcoming publication referred to above.⁵²⁹ Of the section iii. 6-iv. 2, I retain only iii. 13 (to פָנָיו), 19 a as genuine. With iii. 15-17 falls the cognate fragment xxiii..1-4. The book of consolations which con-

⁵¹⁹ *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, 1893.

⁵²⁰ *Introduction*, 1895.

⁵²¹ שׁוֹב אָנָשׁ! See Meinhold's monograph "Der heilige Rest," in his *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, 1903.

⁵²² Ch. ii.

⁵²³ The latter passage is certainly Messianic, *i.e.*, it speaks of the future ruler, while in the former passage Jahve may be meant by the King.

⁵²⁴ P. 64 ff.

⁵²⁵ *Introduction*, 9 ff.

⁵²⁶ *ZAW.*, 3 (1883), 1 ff.; 4 (1884), 291 ff.

⁵²⁷ xxiii. 5 f.; xxxiii. 14 ff.; xxxx. 9-xxxx. 21.

⁵²⁸ P. 78.

⁵²⁹ "Deuteronomic Phraseology in the book of Jeremiah."

sists of chapters xxx. and xxxi. contains a number of more or less related fragments none of which may safely be attributed to Jeremiah. One may doubt whether there be any genuine kernel to chapters xxxii. and xxxiii. Of the historical Jeremiah the writer of xxviii. 8 ff. seems to have retained an adequate conception. He, preeminently, was the prophet of evil. A later generation placed into his mouth consolatory predictions of restoration: he was made not only "to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow," but also "to build, and to plant."

The prophet is the radical of his times. He sees nothing but shortcomings, nothing but evil. He is impatient with the slow progress of half-hearted reform. Prophecy, despairing of the Israel that would not be what it should be, made way for the Law that undertook to train Israel to be what it should be. In the Jewish community which survived the fall of the nation, the Law installed itself as a strict school-master: it demanded complete surrender, absolute obedience; it threatened grievous punishment for failure to submit to its discipline, but it held out the promise of a glorious future if Israel chose to impose upon itself its yoke. *Deut.* xxviii. predicts national prosperity as long as Israel will keep the law, and national disaster as soon as the Law is forgotten. The exiled people is promised no redemption. How different the vista and the spirit of c. xxx. with which goes iv. 25 ff.! There is a future for exiled Israel: "in the latter days" the penitent nation will seek God with its whole heart and soul and find Him; the dispersed are to be gathered again in the land of the fathers; the enemies of Israel shall be cursed, but Israel shall be blessed; for it will be a new Israel, with heart circumcised, and wholly devoted to the love of God. "For Jahve thy God is a merciful God: He will not fail thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which He sware unto them. And because He loved thy fathers, therefore He chose their seed after them." The dogma of the election of Israel involves the postulate that the ideal Israel will some day be real. The Law is the guaranty of Israel's election. "For this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what great nation is there,

that hath a god so nigh unto them, as Jahve our God is whensoever we call upon Him? And what great nation is there, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?"⁵³⁰ Israel has become conscious of its specific culture ("wisdom and understanding"), of its genius; it knows itself and values itself and believes itself indestructible.

The deuteronomistic writers rest upon the shoulders of Jeremiah and his predecessors. They infused into the Law the prophetic spirit. With them the Law was life. "For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not unattainable for thee, neither is it a thing far off. It is not in heaven, that one should say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that one should say, Who shall go over the sea for us and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that it is possible for thee to do it."⁵³¹ They were optimists. The prophets of evil had done their work; after the fall of Jerusalem, the preacher turned comforter. We may witness the transformation in Ezekiel. "As long as Jerusalem stood, he kept reminding his contemporaries of the sins of their fathers and announced the coming end. For his fellow-exiles had set all their hopes in the continued existence of the meagre remnant of the theocracy, they did not believe him nor listen to him, until at last he ceased to preach to them. Then Jerusalem fell, and momentarily the rôles were changed. The prophet's mouth now opened wide, but no more for threats, but from that moment on for promises of better times. In spite of his angry chidings and his stormy quarrels with his countrymen in which he exclusively engaged for years, Ezekiel is in truth the prophet with whom prophecy assumes the so-called Messianic character."⁵³² "Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold they say, Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost; we are clean cut off. Therefore prophesy, and say, Thus saith Jahve: Behold, I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you unto the land of Israel. . . . And I will put my Spirit in you,

⁵³⁰ iv. 6 ff.

18

⁵³¹ *Deut.* xxx. 11-14.

⁵³² Wellhausen, *IJG.*, 151 f.

and ye shall live.”⁵³³ Not only Judah, but also Ephraim shall be brought back. “And I will make them one nation in My land, upon the mountains of Israel; and they shall have one king and be no more two nations, neither shall they any more be divided into two kingdoms.”⁵³⁴ That king who will rule over the united nation shall be “My servant David.”⁵³⁵ “And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David.”⁵³⁶ “Ezekiel threatens the neighboring kingdoms hitherto spared: Egypt and Tyre shall succumb to the Babylonians, Edom, Moab and Ammon to the Arabs. Out of regard to Himself, for His name’s sake, Jahve will avenge Himself upon the heathens who believed that He had fallen with His nation; His own honor is at stake, as long as the reproach of desolation rests upon His land.”⁵³⁷ The restored Israel shall be a purified Israel. “And I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh.”⁵³⁸ Ezekiel’s influence upon the subsequent history of the Jewish community was great indeed: the organization of the theocracy proceeded along the lines laid down by him. The writer of the Law of Holiness belongs to the Ezekielian school; *Levit.* xxvi. predicts the exile, but also the subsequent restoration. “If perchance their uncircumcised heart should then be humbled, and they should then be paid the punishment of their iniquity; and I will remember My covenant with Jacob, and also My covenant with Isaac, and My covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land. . . . And yet for all this, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, or abhor them, to break My covenant with them, and to consume them; for I am Jahve, their God.”⁵³⁹ The Priests’ Code, like Ezekiel, makes room for the “chief”⁵⁴⁰ by the side of the “anointed priest”⁵⁴¹ in the theocracy; but the priest comes first in order and, as it appears, also in importance.⁵⁴²

On a line with the Ezekielian expectations are the Messianic interpolations by which, in exilic and post-exilic times, the editors of the

⁵³³ *Ezek.* xxxvii. 11 ff.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 22; Cornill’s text.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.* 24 f.

⁵³⁶ xxxiv. 23.

⁵³⁷ Wellhausen; see *Ezek.* xxv. 22 ff.

⁵³⁸ xxxvi. 26.

⁵³⁹ Verses 41 b, 42, 44; Driver’s translation.

⁵⁴⁰ נָשִׁעַ.

⁵⁴¹ הַכֹּהן הַמְשֻׁרֵת.

⁵⁴² *Levit.* iv.

pre-exilic prophetic writings sought to soften down the bitter invectives against the sinful people. The prophetic canon was placed by the side of the Law only after its rebukes⁵⁴³ had been supplemented by consolation.⁵⁴⁴ The fallen tabernacle of David is to be raised up;⁵⁴⁵ Israel is to seek "Jahve their God, and David their king;"⁵⁴⁶ there will be a turn in the fortunes of the people,⁵⁴⁷ it shall dwell securely in its old home;⁵⁴⁸ a new covenant will be made with the restored people "not according to the covenant what I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt. . . . But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jahve; I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jahve: for they shall all know Me from the least of them to the greatest of them. . . . Thus saith Jahve which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which stirreth up the sea that the waves thereof roar; Jahve of hosts is His name; if these ordinances depart from before Me, saith Jahve, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before Me forever. Thus saith Jahve: If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, then will I also cast off all the seed of Israel."⁵⁴⁹ Israel and the Davidic dynasty are indestructible; yet it is a purified, regenerated Israel, given to the fear of God, with His Law written in the heart, a community of men who know God, sons of the Living God;⁵⁵⁰ and the Davidic ruler one upon whom "the spirit of Jahvè shall rest, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of Jahve:"⁵⁵¹ the Messianic era is to be the golden age of peace and justice.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴³ תְּכִחָות.

⁵⁴⁴ גְּנַחֲמָה.

⁵⁴⁵ Amos ix. 11.

⁵⁴⁶ Hos. iii. 5.

⁵⁴⁷ Amos ix. 14 and in numerous other places.

⁵⁴⁸ Jerem. xxiii. 6 and elsewhere.

⁵⁴⁹ Jerem. xxxi. 31-36. See also xxxii. 37 ff.; 17 ff.

⁵⁵⁰ Hos. ii. 1.

⁵⁵¹ Isai. xi. 2.

⁵⁵² The "golden age" of mythology is projected into the future; see Gunkel, *Genesis*, 100; *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1895, 12 f.; 87.

The dogma of the election and indestructibility of Israel received a new formulation at the hands of the author of *Isai.* xl.-lv., that great seer who, without derogation to his extraordinary gifts as a poet and spiritual teacher, may be said to have laid the foundation for a theology of Judaism. We are treading here, it must be granted, upon disputed ground; much depends upon our critical and exegetical attitude to the "Servant"-passages.⁵⁵³ MARTI believes that the author of *Isai* xl.-lv. wrote the Servant-passages himself; SMEND and WELLHAUSEN assign them to an earlier writer whose work the author of xl. ff. incorporated into his own; DUHM places them in late post-exilic times and distinguishes between the original poems and later supplements, thus accepting the analysis of Schiam and Cheyne in c. xlvi. Who is this "Servant of the Lord?" The answer will, or may, differ according to whether we have in mind the original poet or his supplementers and editors. For our purposes it makes really little difference whether the collectivistic⁵⁵⁴ interpretation is original or imposed by an editor: it is there, in the Old Testament, no matter from whose hand and head. It is quite true that the collectivistic interpretation cannot be reconciled with a passage like xlvi. 5 f.;⁵⁵⁵ but it is certainly supported by the text of xlvi. 3⁵⁵⁶ and the Greek text of xlvi. 1; it is, moreover, quite conceivable that the individualistic-Messianic interpretation of a later time brought about textual changes and insertions not in accord with the original collectivistic intent. It is furthermore true that, while in the Servant-passages Israel's servanthip is represented as placidly tragic, its character in the environment is animatedly glorious; but even in the Servant-passages, notably in c. lxxi., Israel's suffering is to be but a passage way to the ultimate triumph. The formulation to which reference was made above runs

⁵⁵³ I have before me several monographs (Giesebricht, Schian, Laue, Bertholet, Kittel, Füllkrug, Budde, Rothstein, Roy); good discussions may be found in the commentaries of Marti and Duhm; Smend, 352, footnote 2; Wellhausen, *IJG.*, 159, footnote; article "Servant of the Lord" in the *Encycl. Biblica* where Budde's criticism of Duhm's theory is reviewed at considerable length, with the inevitable Jerahmeelite theory as the solvent of all difficulties.

⁵⁵⁴ The Servant = Israel.

⁵⁵⁵ According to *Sifre*, § 27, the prophet is addressed.

⁵⁵⁶ Duhm resorts to emendation.

in our present text of Isai. xl. ff. as follows: Israel, the seed of Abraham, the friend of Jahve,⁵⁵⁷ is the chosen Servant,⁵⁵⁸ God's prophet and missionary into the world,⁵⁵⁹ indestructible;⁵⁶⁰ for though at present despised and rejected of men and cut off from the land of the living as an expiatory victim for the sins of the world, Israel shall rise from the grave, triumphant with the success of God's work accomplished by it.⁵⁶¹ Israel is charged with instructing the world in the Law of God;⁵⁶² as a true prophet and teacher, it must give its back to smiters, and its cheeks to those who pluck out the beard; as a second Jeremiah, it must not hide its face from insult and spitting.⁵⁶³ In order to realize the triumphant Israel of the future, the Israel of the present must willingly submit to suffering and contumely and martyrdom. The Law to which Deutero-Isaiah refers is certainly not identical with the earlier or later codifications of which our present Pentateuch is composed: it is rather their substance, their Idea. EDUARD MEYER⁵⁶⁴ thinks that the Priests' Law, "the basis of Judaism," created its necessary supplement, Jew-hating. He was anticipated by Deutero-Isaiah: Jewish suffering is a necessary correlate of Israel's vocation as God's servant and teacher of mankind. Thus, thanks to the re-formulation which the dogma of Israel's election⁵⁶⁵ received at the hands of Deutero-Isaiah, it was enriched by the supplementary doctrine of Israel's vocation which must needs be attended with suffering, but just as certainly be crowned with ultimate triumph.

The vocation of Israel is also the subject of the prophecy *Isai.* ii. 2-4 = *Micah* iv. i-3. "And in the latter days the mountain of Jahve's house will be established as the highest of the mountains, and will be exalted above the hills, and all nations will stream to it; and many peoples will set forth, and say: Come let us go up to the

⁵⁵⁷ xli. 8.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 9; xlii. 1, 19; xliii. 10; xliv. 1 f.; xlix. 3, 6, 7; l. 10; lii. 13.

⁵⁵⁹ xlii. 6; xlix. 6. ⁵⁶⁰ liv. 10. ⁵⁶¹ C. liii. ⁵⁶² xlii. 4. ⁵⁶³ l. 6; li. 23.

⁵⁶⁴ *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896, 222.

⁵⁶⁵ The Messianic dogma; Deutero-Isaiah has no scruples about investing Cyrus with the Messianic title—xlv—in the narrower sense as the organ of the Deity in the work of the redemption and resuscitation of Israel, the true Messiah.

mountain of Jahve, to the house of the God of Jacob, that He may instruct us out of His precepts, and that we may walk in His paths; for from Zion goes forth instruction, and the word of Jahve from Jerusalem. Then will He judge between the nations, and give decision to many peoples; and they will beat their swords into mattocks and their spears into pruning-knives; nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither will they learn war any more.⁵⁶⁶ While here, no less than in Deutero-Isaiah,⁵⁶⁷ the God of Jacob is the Sovereign in the theocracy and as such Teacher and Arbitrator, there is no reason why elsewhere⁵⁶⁸ the God-inspired Davidic scion would not be represented as the organ of the Deity in the performance of the theocratic functions. "No harm nor destruction will there be in all My holy mountain, for the land is become full of the knowledge of Jahve, as waters fill the sea. In that day, the Root of Jesse which stands as a banner to the peoples—to him will the nations resort, and glorious will be his habitation."⁵⁶⁹

The post-exilic prophets—it is necessary to mention only Haggai, Zechariah, Joel, Trito-Isaiah—seek to strengthen the despondent Jewish community by the prediction of the speedy advent of the Messianic era. Sometimes the ruler with whom the new order of things is to be set in is specified: Haggai and Zechariah see in Zerubbabel the chosen servant. Generally, however, Jahve is represented as the Redeemer of Israel. The day of Jahve will bring punishment to the heathen world; but redemption and a glorious future to Israel. The new Jerusalem, most fantastically pictured by Trito-Isaiah, will eclipse the past and present by her wealth and splendor and miraculous conditions, reminiscent of the golden age. "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, the former things shall not be remembered nor recalled to mind. Rather shall they rejoice and exult forever in that which I create, for behold, I create Jerusalem anew as an exultation, and her people as a joy, and I will exult in Jerusalem, and rejoice in my people. No more shall there be heard in her the sound of weeping, nor the sound of a cry; no more shall there be an infant of a few days, nor an old man who cannot live out his days. The youngest shall die a hundred years

⁵⁶⁶ Cheyne's translation. ⁵⁶⁷ E. g., lii. 7. ⁵⁶⁸ E. g., Isai. xi. ⁵⁶⁹ Verse 9 f.

old. . . . For like the days of the trees shall be the days of My people. . . . For they are a race blessed by Jahve. . . . Then shall the wolf and the lamb feed together, and the lion eat straw like the ox. No harm or destruction shall there be in all my holy mountain, says Jahve.”⁵⁷⁰ “And I will make peace thy governor, and righteousness thy magistrate. Violence will no more be heard of in thy land, nor desolation and destruction within thy borders, and thou wilt call thy walls Deliverance, and thy gates Renown. No more will the sun serve thee for light, nor for brightness the moon illuminate thee, but Jahve will be to thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy adornment. Thy sun will set no more, and thy moon will not wane, but Jahve will be to thee an everlasting light.”⁵⁷¹ Yet the future community shall admit proselytes.⁵⁷² “For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples.”⁵⁷³ A community that admits proselytes is a Church. We have here the nascent idea of the Jewish Church. While, on a lower level, emphasis is laid upon the exceptional status of God’s people—the “priests of Jahve” receiving sacerdotal revenue from the nations⁵⁷⁴—the post-exilic prophets rise to the highest thought—and religious ideas should be judged by the highest expression they find—that the Messianic era will unite mankind as worshipers of the One God—as the monotheistic Church to the formation of which Israel is to devote its existence. “For then will I turn to the peoples a pure lip, that they may all call upon the name of Jahve to serve Him with one consent.”⁵⁷⁵ “And Jahve shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall Jahve be one, and His name one.”⁵⁷⁶ “The expectation,” says WELLHAUSEN,⁵⁷⁷ “that Jewish monotheism will once dominate the world, is here expressed with unusual clearness and definiteness. *His name* means His invocation and worship, His *cultus*.”

The advent of the Kingdom of God is the object of the hopes and prayers of the Psalmists. For our present purposes we may safely omit all reference to those Psalms in which the praying subject is in the singular: the identity of the “I” of the Psalms is a

⁵⁷⁰ *Isai.* 1 xv. 17 ff.; Cheyne’s translation.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1x. 17 ff.; Cheyne’s translation.

⁵⁷² Verse 7.

⁵⁷³ *Zeph.* iii. 9.

⁵⁷⁶ *Zech.* xiv. 9.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, lvi. 6.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, lxi. 6.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ad locum.*

routed question;⁷⁷⁸ the collectivistic interpretation is accepted by WELLHAUSEN, while DUHM is a follower of the individualizing exegesis. There is a sufficient number of Psalms in which the hopes of the community are the subject, in other words, Messianic Psalms. "O Jahve! God Sabaoth! how long wilt Thou be enraged notwithstanding the prayers of Thy people? Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them tears to drink by the measure. Thou makest us but the butt of our neighbors, and our enemies keep up their scoffs. Do Thou restore us again, O God Sabaoth! let Thy face shine, that we may be helped! Thou didst lift up a grape vine in Egypt, Thou didst drive away people, and plant it; Thou madest a clear space before it; it took root and filled the land. The mountains were covered with its shadow, and the cedars of God with its branches. To the sea it extended its tendrils and its shoots to the River. Why hast Thou torn down its fences, so that all who pass that way do pluck it? The wild boar roots it up, it is food for the beasts of the field. O God Sabaoth, turn Thou again! look Thou from heaven, and behold! Take this vine as Thy charge and replant it. That which Thy right hand has planted —they have burnt it with fire, they have hewn it down; before the menace of Thy face may they perish! Be Thine arm over the man (= Israel) of Thy right hand! over the man whom Thou hast chosen (?) for Thyself, who has not swerved from Thee."⁷⁷⁹ Elsewhere, Israel is called God's Anointed one (Messiah, the Christ).⁷⁸⁰ "As Israel is the Servant, *i. e.*, the Prophet of Jahve, so it is also the Messiah and the heir of David, at the present in a state of weakness, but in the future in one of power."⁷⁸¹ The same scholar says in his note on *Ps. ii. 7*: "The Messiah is the incarnation of Israel's universal rule. He and Israel are almost identical, and it matters little whether we say that Israel *has* or *is* the Messiah." And as the Messiah, Israel is the Son of God.⁷⁸² Israel's birthright is often

⁷⁷⁸ See the monographs of Beer, Coblenz, Roy, Leimdörfer, Engert.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ps. lxxx. 5 ff*; Wellhausen-Furness.

⁷⁸⁰ xxviii. 8; lxxxiv. 10; lxxix. 39, 52; cxxxii. 10, 17. See Wellhausen, *IIG.*, 211, footnote 2. In *Ps. cv. 15* he points the two nouns as singulars: "there is only one Prophet or Messiah at one time (*e. g.* Abraham, Isaac, Jacob)"; see his note *ad loc.*

⁷⁸¹ Wellhausen, *ibid.*

⁷⁸² *Ps. ii. 7*.

conceived in terms of worldly dominion; but, at its heart, the doctrine of Israel's sonship means its prophetic vocation. The kingdom which Israel is to inherit is indeed placed in this world, but it is an ideal of which only the purified remnant of Israel shall be worthy.⁵⁸³

With Daniel, the Messianic doctrine comes to be involved in the eschatological system which, whether entirely out of its own means or through foreign influence, Judaism sets out to develop. The characteristic features of the Danielic system are the chronological computation of the end of the present order of things,⁵⁸⁴ the clean distinction between the everlasting Kingdom of God and the powers which it supersedes, the miraculous character of the advent of the kingdom which, however, is by no means placed in transcendent regions, but is to be realized here on earth. The Messiah, as a person, is kept in the background; in the book of Daniel, "corporate Israel" as Wellhausen says,⁵⁸⁵ is the Messiah. But the kingdom which the visionary looks forward to is reserved only for a portion of the people, "those that shall be found written in the book"; it is to be a kingdom of saints. While the world-powers are introduced in the vision⁵⁸⁶ in the figure of beasts, the human form is the symbol for the kingdom of the saints. The collectivistic interpretation of the "one like unto a son of man"⁵⁸⁷ is accepted by the bulk of modern commentators.⁵⁸⁸ GUNKEL,⁵⁸⁹ though conceding the collectivistic interpretation, thinks that "son of man" is a rather remarkable figure for an earthly nation. He therefore believes that "Dan. vii. is not allegory invented by the author, but allegorized material which he found ready and took over. Thus the 'son of man, coming with the clouds of heaven,' so enigmatic in the present context, probably forms an element of the tradition; for it is difficult to understand how the author, of himself, should conceive just that figure for Israel. In the original myth, 'son of man' was probably the title of the god-conqueror." GUNKEL's emphasis upon the "history of tradition"

⁵⁸³ Ps. i.

⁵⁸⁴ יְמִין.

⁵⁸⁵ *IJG.*, 305.

⁵⁸⁶ C. vii.

⁵⁸⁷ vii. 13.

⁵⁸⁸ See Driver's commentary *ad locum*; it was first proposed by Ephrem Syrus and Ibn Ezra.

⁵⁸⁹ Schöpfung und Chaos, 323 ff.

method is reduced to more modest proportions by WELLHAUSEN.⁵⁹⁰ He by no means denies the right of searching for foreign material; but he minimizes the importance of such investigations which have only an archæological interest.⁵⁹¹ Upon the theory of GUNKEL, the mythological figure appears demythicized in Daniel.

The personality of the future ruler in the restored theocracy thus plays an insignificant part in the entire Old Testament (including the apocryphal writings): his advent is a mere incident in the realization of the Kingdom of God; nor does the Old Testament know of "Messiah" as an exclusive appellation of the future ruler.⁵⁹² On the other hand, the person of the Messiah assumes a central position in the *Psalms of Solomon*, the apocalyptic-pseudepigraphic writings, portions of the Hellenistic literature, the Targumim, the Prayer-Book, Mishna, Talmud, Midrash. The material may now be found most conveniently gathered in VOLZ.⁵⁹³ While in the vast literature just referred to there is agreement on the exalted position of the Messiah, there is considerable divergence in the conception of the person. VOLZ enumerates the following stages: (1) the future ruler, the son of David;⁵⁹⁴ (2) the son of David, sinless and pious;⁵⁹⁵ (3) the human prince of peace;⁵⁹⁶ (4) the priest-king with supernatural endowment and supernatural gifts;⁵⁹⁷ (5) the transcendent son of David as conqueror of the world-power;⁵⁹⁸ (6) the transcendent Man as destroyer of the heathen world;⁵⁹⁹ (7) the transcendent Man as ruler of the world;⁶⁰⁰ (8) the celestial Man, pre-existent and eternal, as the judge of the world and the demons, and as the author of the beatitude of the pious.⁶⁰¹ "The two opposite poles are constituted by the purely human, national Messianic figure and the celestial, eternal bearer of salvation. The task of the Messiah

⁵⁹⁰ *Skizzen*, VI (1899), 225 ff.

⁵⁹¹ See Gunkel's article in the *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1899, 582 ff., referred to by Zimmern, *KAT.*, 391 f.

⁵⁹² See Klausner, *השליח*, 12 (1903), 4 f.; his German publication *Die messianischen Vorstellungen d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten*, 1903, is not accessible to me. ⁵⁹³ 197 ff. ⁵⁹⁴ Popular and rabbinic conception.

⁵⁹⁵ καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἀναπτιας, *Ps. Sal.* xvii. 36. ⁵⁹⁶ Baruch, *Sibylline Oracles*.

⁵⁹⁷ *Test. Levi.* ⁵⁹⁸ IV Ezra xii. ⁵⁹⁹ IV Ezra xiii.

⁶⁰⁰ Daniel vii.; according to Volz's interpretation. ⁶⁰¹ *Book of Enoch*.

differs accordingly: on the one hand he has dealings with earthly enemies, on the other with sin and the demons and as the judge of the world with the entire cosmos. Similarly, the participants in the salvation are here Israel and Palestine, there the pious; in the one case the blessings are temporal, in the other spiritual." VOLZ is quite right in remarking that, as the Messianic doctrine became involved in the eschatological systems and as the latter tended away from Jewish national interests towards universal human and individual concerns, the effect upon the Messianic doctrine was bound to proceed along three different lines; either the Messiah was pushed to the background, or he was reduced to be the inaugurator of a merely transient period of bliss, or, where the eschatological system was reluctant to let the personal human savior go, it took hold of a transcendent figure coming from an extraneous source, and thus made it possible for the Messiah to retain His place in the midst of such ideas as universal resurrection, world-judgment, transformation of the cosmos, the life everlasting and the angelic participants in the other-worldly bliss.

The "transcendent figure coming from an extraneous source" is the "son of man" demythicized in Daniel. It is there applied to Israel,⁶⁰² VOLZ notwithstanding. In the "Similitudes" and *IV Ezra* the phrase is on the way to becoming a title of the Messiah; at all events, we have in both the figure of the pre-existent heavenly Messiah who is invested by God with almost Divine prerogatives. In this line we find the early evangelical tradition. The Christians of Palestine about the year 70 moved in the circles of Jewish Messianists, as BALDENSPERGER⁶⁰³ calls them. In the Christ of the Gospels we have a composite picture of the Son of David, the Son of God, the Servant of the Lord and the Son of Man.⁶⁰⁴

Did Jesus come forward with the Messianic claim and in what sense? WELLHAUSEN, who denies that Jesus wished to figure as the Jewish Messiah in the ordinary sense of the term,⁶⁰⁵ ignores the eschatological and apocalyptic elements in the Gospel narrative which

⁶⁰² See above.

⁶⁰³ *Messian.-apokalypt. Hoffnungen d. Judenthums.*

⁶⁰⁴ See VOLZ, 214 f.; BOUSSET, 254, footnote 1; Baldensperger, *loc. cit.*, for a review of the controversy between Lietzmann-Wellhausen and Dalman.

⁶⁰⁵ *IJG.*, 387 f.

he regards as spurious superimpositions upon the original character. HARNACK is of a different opinion.⁶⁰⁶ The condemnation of Jesus by the high court of justice and his crucifixion are indeed unintelligible unless he made claim to the Messianic dignity: he was, in the eyes of the authorities, a "Chrestus impulsor." PFLEIDERER equally objects to the substitution "of our modern ethical, evolutionistic, philosophical concept of the 'Kingdom of God' for the eschatological, apocalyptic, catastrophic kingdom-expectations of Jesus."⁶⁰⁷ He quotes JOH. WEISS's observation that "the prediction of the coming kingdom is the rule, the proleptic sayings the exception. Not only as regards number do the sayings with reference to the future predominate, but also when the content is had in mind. The basic character of the preaching of Jesus, it cannot be ignored, is prophecy, the ground tone hope, to be sure the hope which is certain of its aim, but nevertheless hope." "Jesus," says PFLEIDERER, "taught his disciples to pray: 'Thy kingdom come,' which certainly presupposes that it is not as yet." The seemingly "proleptic" sayings which *dilettanti* of the CHAMBERLAIN type are fond of quoting are discussed by PFLEIDERER in the sequel.⁶⁰⁸ According to PFLEIDERER there is the same vacillation in the Gospel as in Jewish eschatology between the this-worldly and the other-worldly, the earthly and celestial conceptions about the things that are to happen in the "latter days."⁶⁰⁹ PFLEIDERER furthermore concedes that in the eschatological prediction of Jesus there is no reference to the triumph of the Jewish people over the heathen nations; but he continues: "Certainly a distinction, the importance of which should not be underestimated, which, however, is hardly explained correctly by the current opinion that Jesus freed the kingdom of God which he hoped for from all connection with the Jewish people and conceived it as universal-human."⁶¹⁰ The Jewish people remains in the mind of Jesus the stock of God's people that is to be. The Messianic predictions and conceptions of Jesus differed in no appreciable degree from those of his people.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁶ *Wesen d. Christentums*, 82 f. See also the lucid discussion in Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, I,² 1902, 660 ff.

⁶⁰⁷ *Loc. cit.*, 619.

⁶⁰⁸ P. 681 ff.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 626.

⁶¹⁰ P. 631.

⁶¹¹ See Pfleiderer's quotation from Schnedermann, p. 633.

PHILO's conceptions of the Messiah are rather vague. One or two passages in his works notwithstanding, it may be said that in his system the heavenly Logos takes the place of the earthly-human future king.⁶¹² On the other hand, PHILO repeatedly speaks of Israel's vocation as the priest and prophet among the nations.⁶¹³

The advent of the Son of David as Israel's Anointed King⁶¹⁴ and Savior⁶¹⁵ constitutes the hope of the Jewish people after 70 no less than before. The collectivistic interpretation of biblical prophecies concerned with the Christ-people give way in the Targumim and elsewhere to individualistic exegesis: the rabbis find in the Old Testament quite as many Messianic passages as, e. g., the Gospel according to Matthew. See for a few examples VOLZ, 198 f. The person of the future redeemer occupies a central place; much that is said about him in rabbinic literature finds its analogies in the older haggada which is imbedded in the apocalyptic writings. In the main, however, the person is never allowed to assume the transcendent, celestial Divine character with which the Messiah is invested, e. g., in the "Similitudes." The Messiah is but God's organ of salvation; the true and real Savior is God. The rabbis clearly adhere to the "chiliastic" doctrine.⁶¹⁶ The Messianic kingdom is often secularized. "The only difference between this world and the days of Messiah consists in the subjection to the world-powers which shall cease in the future."⁶¹⁷ Rabbi Hillel's categorical declaration: "Israel has no Messiah,"⁶¹⁸ "quoted *ad nauseam* by every opponent of Maimonides from the earliest times down to the year of grace 1888,"⁶¹⁹ is really nothing but a rationalistic interpretation of the Messianic passages in (the First) Isaiah with reference to Hezekiah and, moreover, remains "an isolated opinion which contradicts all the feelings and traditions of the Jews as expressed in thousands of other passages, and especially in the liturgy."⁶²⁰ RASHI's addition: "But the Holy One, blessed be He, will rule Himself, and redeem them Himself," may be an attempt to save the honor of the bold Amora; but it is a significant hint that behind the Messiah the Jew saw and felt God.⁶²¹

⁶¹² Volz, 207 f.

⁶¹³ Bousset, 412.

⁶¹⁴ המלך המשיח.

⁶¹⁵ נואל.

⁶¹⁶ Volz, 236.

⁶¹⁷ Brakot 34 b.

⁶¹⁸ Sanhed. 99 a.

⁶¹⁹ Schechter, *JQR.*, I (1889), 124.

⁶²⁰ Id.

⁶²¹ See Klausner, *loc. cit.*, 5.

"And especially in the liturgy."⁶²² To be sure, the coming of the Messiah is the object of some of the oldest prayers; but the person is more or less kept in the background; the heart of the Jew as he prays is rather centered in the advent of the Kingdom of God. The ethico-religious character of the Messianic hope manifests itself in the Prayer-Book more than anywhere else. "The sprout of David mayest Thou speedily cause to bud, and his horn mayest Thou exalt with Thy salvation; blessed be Thou, O Lord, who causest the horn of salvation to bud."⁶²³ The Palestinian recension⁶²⁴ in the corresponding place mentions the "rule of the house of David, Thy righteous Messiah" by the side of Israel, Jerusalem, Zion, the temple, as an object of restoration. In the eleventh Benediction, however, we read: "Rule Thou over us by Thyself." "May His great Name be extolled and hallowed in the world which He created according to His will, and may He cause His kingdom to come"⁶²⁵ in your life and in your days and in the life of all Israel speedily and in the near future," thus runs the *Kaddis* prayer.⁶²⁶ The inserted prayer at the third Benediction on New Year and the Day of Atonement mentions the Davidic reign together with the other articles of Jewish hope, but places the idea of the Kingdom of God in the center; moreover, the ethico-religious character of the Messianic hope is clearly expressed. "Put the fear of Thee, O Lord, our God, over all Thy creatures, so that they may all fear Thee and worship Thee, and all of them be made one band to do Thy will with a perfect heart; as we know, O Lord, our God, that the dominion is Thine, strength in Thy hand, and power in Thy right hand, and Thy name to be feared above all that Thou hast created. Give honor, O Lord, to Thy people, glory to those who fear Thee, hope to those who wait for Thee; joy to Thy land, gladness to Thy city, the budding of the horn to David, Thy servant, and the preparing of a lamp for the son of Jesse, Thy anointed,

⁶²² Schechter.

⁶²³ Fifteenth of the Eighteen Benedictions.

⁶²⁴ Dalman, *loc. cit.*, 300.

⁶²⁵ In certain recensions: "and may He cause His salvation to bud and make near His Messiah and redeem His people."

⁶²⁶ A more comprehensive eschatological programme in the so-called *Kaddis de-Rabbanan*, Dalman, 305.

speedily in our days. Then may the righteous see and be glad, and the upright exult, and the pious joy with singing; iniquity will shut its mouth, and all wickedness vanish like smoke; for Thou wilt cause the arrogant kingdom (the *Antichrist*) to pass away from the earth, and rule Thou, O Lord, by Thyself, over all Thy creatures, on the mountain of Zion, Thy glorious dwelling, and in Jerusalem, Thy holy city, as it is written in Thy Holy Words:⁶²⁷ ‘The Lord shall reign for ever, Thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Hallelujah.’” The hope in the advent of the Kingdom of God is rooted in Jewish monotheism. “He is our God, and there is no other. Therefore do we hope, O Lord, our God, speedily to behold Thy majestic power when Thou wilt remove the idols from the earth, and the worthless gods will be utterly destroyed, when Thou wilt set the world aright through the Kingdom of God,⁶²⁸ and all mankind will invoke Thy name; when Thou wilt turn unto Thyself all the wicked of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world will recognize and know that to Thee every knee must bow and every tongue swear. Before Thee, O Lord, our God, they shall bow and fall in worship, and give honor to Thy great and glorious name, and take upon themselves the yoke of Thy kingdom, and Thou wilt rule over them for ever. For Thine is the Kingdom.”⁶²⁹ The advent of God means to the Jew the gathering of the dispersed and the restoration of the temple; but it means more: it means the Kingdom of God for a humanity united as one band to do God’s will with a perfect heart.

Thus in and through Israel shall humanity be blessed.⁶³⁰ “Thou hast chosen us” is the ever-recurring formula in the festival prayers. The Church of Israel⁶³¹ is God’s beloved bride. Such was the meaning of the Song of Songs to those who retained it in the canon. “For the whole world is not to be compared in dignity to the day on which the Song was given to Israel: for all the Writings⁶³² are holy, but the Song is most holy.”⁶³³ In the liturgy of the Day of Atonement, penitent Israel addresses God: “We are Thy love,

⁶²⁷ Ps. cxlvi. 10. ⁶²⁸ מלכות שדי. ⁶²⁹ From the *Additional*, New Year’s Day.

⁶³⁰ Gen. xii. 3 and similar passages according to the later, fuller and more spiritual interpretation. ⁶³¹ כנסת ישראל. ⁶³² = the third part of the canon.

⁶³³ Rabbi Akiba’s well-known statement; *Iadaim* iii. 5.

and Thou art our Beloved.”⁶³⁴ Israel’s election means Israel’s vocation; the two condition the future redemption and triumph. “Bring us back in peace from the four corners of the earth, and lead us back to our land as freemen; for thou art God who worketh salvation, and Thou hast chosen us from among all the nations and tongues and brought us nigh unto Thy great name in truth, to confess Thee and to proclaim Thy unity in love. Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who, in love, hast chosen Thy people Israel.”⁶³⁵

It is quite right to say with SCHECHTER⁶³⁶ that “the belief of the election of Israel by God was the cardinal dogma” of JUDAH HA-LEVI. He might have added: “and in the election of the land of Canaan.” JUDAH HA-LEVI develops the thought that the pre-eminent gifts of Adam who, as the creature of an All-wise Creator, certainly was most perfect, were inherited, in each generation, by the patriarchs mentioned by name in the book of Genesis, who thus may be called the kernel of humanity, alone susceptible to the higher light. “Until the children of Jacob came, who were all of that choice character, distinguished from other human beings by peculiar Divine gifts which rendered them, as it were, a distinct species of angelic beings. They were permitted all to strive after the prophetic station, and the majority of them attained it.”⁶³⁷ It is true that, at present, we, the Jews, are without head and without heart;⁶³⁸ nay, without body; mere scattered dry bones. Yet bones in which there has remained the element of vitality (and which, therefore, may yet be vitalized), which once served as organs for head, heart, mind, soul, intellect.⁶³⁹ “Nor will we admit that we are dead. We are rather to be likened to a sick man who is wasting away and of whose cure the physicians have despaired, who, nevertheless, looks forward to recovery by miraculous agencies.”⁶⁴⁰ “Israel, among the nations, is like the heart among the organs of the body; it is most

⁶³⁴ אנו רעים ואתך דורנו.

⁶³⁵ Daily Prayer.

⁶³⁶ *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 60.

⁶³⁷ *Kuzari*, i. 103.

⁶³⁸ ii. 29.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 34. He quotes copious passages from the Bible: particularly *Isai* lii. 13 ff., to which he gives a collectivistic interpretation. The thought of Israel’s vicarious suffering for the welfare of humanity is expressed with utmost clearness by Rashi in his commentary: Israel suffers not because he is hated by God, but in order that the whole world may enjoy peace.

susceptible to disease, but also the healthiest."⁶⁴¹ Israel's sins are punished first:⁶⁴² but our sufferings serve to strengthen us in our religious life, to purify us and to remove from us all dross; in short, in order to develop in and through us the choicest part of all creation, the community of prophets and pious men, the best towards which humanity is advancing."⁶⁴³ On Palestine as the chosen land of prophecy, see ii. 22 ff.

MAIMUNI follows the rabbis in divesting the character of the Messianic era of all transcendent and eschatological connections.⁶⁴⁴ While the Messianic doctrine thus loses its miraculous elements, its ethico-religious character is preserved. "Our sages and prophets longed for the days of the Messiah, not in order that they might rule over the world, nor that they might be the masters of the Gentiles, nor that they might eat and drink and be merry, but that they might have leisure for the Torah and its wisdom and that they might be free from taskmasters and interferers in their preparation for the life everlasting. In that period there will be neither famine nor warfare, nor envy, nor competition, for prosperity will be plentiful, and the dainties as cheap as dirt; and the world will have no concern with anything except the knowledge of God; Israel will consist of great sages who will know the hidden things and conceive of the knowledge of their Creator as much as human beings are able."⁶⁴⁵ In the uncensored *editio princeps*,⁶⁴⁶ we find the remarkable statement that Jesus and Mohammed came to pave the way for the Messiah who is to come.⁶⁴⁷ "The world has (through the preaching of Jesus and Mohammed) been permeated with words concerning the Messiah and with the words of the Torah and the commandments; they have been spread to the utmost isles and among many nations uncircumcised of heart." Of course, MAIMUNI expects that the Messiah will succeed in converting the Christian and Mohammedan world to the full Jewish truth of which, at present, they only possess fragments. Jesus cannot be accepted as the

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁶⁴² Amos iii. 2 is quoted.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁴⁴ See his excursus on *Sanhedrin* x. 1, *תשובה*; ix. 2; *מלכים* xi. f.

⁶⁴⁵ *Isai.* xi. 9 b is quoted. — *מלכים* xii. 4 f.

⁶⁴⁶ Constantinople, 1509.

⁶⁴⁷ *וכי הדברים אלו ושל זה הישמעאלי שעמד אחריו* (blank for the name of Jesus) *אין אלא לשר דרכם מלך המשיח* (Jesus)

Messiah, for, whereas the Messiah whom the prophets announced was to redeem Israel and gather their dispersed and strengthen their religion, Jesus was the cause of great suffering and humiliation for Israel, of the abrogation of the Law and of the error of serving others beside God.

It is unnecessary to enter into the discussion of CRESAS and his disciple ALBO as to whether disbelief in the coming of the Messiah constitutes heresy. Suffice it to say that they persist in cherishing the hope of the restoration of Israel.⁶⁴⁸

III.

Maimuni's declaration in the epilogue to his Creed—the remarkable conclusion of a remarkable piece of literature—that membership in the religious body of Israel¹ rests upon assent to the Creed of Judaism in its entirety,² while the rejection of even one of its articles³ carries with it excommunication,⁴ met with opposition not only on the part of mediæval critics,⁵ but particularly, across the centuries, at the hands of MOSES MENDELSSOHN. I refer to the frequently quoted passage in his *Jerusalem* wherein it is maintained that Judaism is primarily a system of laws to be obeyed, not of articles of faith to be believed, or, in shorter phraseology, that it is essentially Deed, not Creed. There is coupled to this assertion the emphatic rejection of DOHM's proposal to confer upon the Jews the right of ecclesiastical excommunication.⁶ It is a pity, but a great

⁶⁴⁸ See 'Ikkarim, iv. 42, 45.

הודה אל קואעד כלהא. כל ישראל :

בקר יצא מן הכלל וכפר בעיקר ויתסמי מין ואפיקורום וקוצץ בנטיות. See also Thes. ii. 7 ff.

¹ E. g., Abraham ben David (*ad*, iii. 7) Crescas, Albo. The difference between Maimuni and these critics touches mainly the question as to what is and what is not a fundamental article of faith. Albo may reduce the number of fundamental articles to three; but those three must surely be accepted by every one calling himself a Jew.

² See *Jerusalem* (the work appeared May, 1783. Dohm's *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* was published in 1781), second part, in Brasch's edition (*Moses Mendelssohn's Schriften zur Philosophie, Aesthetik und Apologetik*, 1880), II, 407 ff. "Among all the precepts and the ordinances of the

truth nevertheless, that those who are called by Providence to usher in a new era are often themselves blind to the new conception of things which they are preparing. SPINOZA, the father of modern historical criticism as applied to the Old Testament, holds absolutely unhistorical views concerning the development and meaning of Judaism.⁷ And so it fared with MENDELSSOHN who, as the child of a rationalistic age, had no conception of historical development, which his friend LESSING so well understood and which, thanks to HEGEL, has been engrafted upon the modern consciousness. An admirer of the shallow Deism of a few English philosophers, a believer in the demonstrability of the fundamental truths of religion, *natural religion*, afraid of the ban of an ignorant rabbinate which might interdict his favorite pursuits along the lines of philosophical speculation, he had no understanding of that which is truly elemental

Mosaic Law, there is not one which says, 'Thou shalt believe this' or 'Thou shalt not believe it,' but they all say, 'Thou shalt do,' 'Thou shalt forbear' . . . Nay, the word in the original language, which is commonly translated as 'faith,' in most cases properly means 'trust, reliance, full confidence in a promise' [quite true; but the same may be said of the Greek *πίστις* by which מַתָּה (מַתָּה) is rendered in the Greek Old Testament and in the Gospels (see art. 'Faith' in the *Encycl. Biblica*). It is furthermore true, as Dr. Kohler says (art. "Faith" in the *Jew. Encycl.*), that "only in mediæval times did the word מַתָּה (faith) receive the meaning of dogmatic belief"; but the thing, that is, the implicit demand of assent to certain fundamentals, existed long before the dogmatic sense מַתָּה was developed]. . . . Wherever the question is of eternal self-evident truths [which, however, had received a shaking in 1781 at the hands of the "Alleszermalmer" Kant] there is nothing said of believing, but understanding and knowing [an exegetical error of which Maimuni was equally guilty; see above. . . . For this reason also, ancient Judaism has no symbolical books, no articles of faith. No one was asked, by oath, to subscribe to symbols or to articles of faith; nay, we have no conception of what is called an oath of creed; indeed, according to the spirit of genuine (Mosaic?) Judaism, we must regard such oaths as inadmissible." Schürer (II, 347, footnote 49) believes that Mendelssohn's contention is relatively correct. Bernfeld (ii. 574, footnote) reminds Mendelssohn of the fact that Judaism does not mean Mosaism only: in other words, a tendency towards dogmatic development is discernible in rabbinic Judaism. He sides, however, with Mendelssohn in denying to the state the right of punishing heretics. But what about the right of the Church, as a religious organization, to define its position and to demand from its members adherence thereto?

⁷ See Joel's work referred to above.

in religion, *faith*; nor of that which alone establishes the cohesion-
ness of a religious body, a *Creed*. MAIMUNI, it is true, was be-
guiled by the "nugae Aristotelicae" into rationalism; he, however,
understood Judaism better than SPINOZA and MENDELSSOHN; he
in truth, possessed that tact "which knows how to seize upon the
constant and essential and living"; he was a theologian, while MEN-
DELSSOHN can in no way lay claim to such honors. MENDELSSOHN'S
dictum, although refuted again and again—I need only mention the
criticisms of LUZZATTO and Löw⁸—proved a dangerous impediment
to the logical development of the new phase of Judaism which he
unconsciously prepared: conformity, outward conformity to tradi-
tion, the soulless practice of dead ceremonies, was the watchword
of the men of compromise;⁹ it was furthermore a weapon in the
hands of the detractors of Jews and Judaism. Fortunately, MEN-
DELSSOHN'S *Jerusalem* contained another suggestion which, given a
more logical head and a more resolute character, was destined to
become fruitful. MENDELSSOHN finds that, in the Mosaic constitu-
tion, State and religion form an indissoluble union and that, from
the time that the Mosaic constitution was weakened through the
institution of the monarchy, there occurred necessary collisions be-
tween the duties of the subject to his native or foreign ruler and
those which he owed to his God. He is furthermore conscious that
such a collision exists in his own time; but he admonishes his co-
religionists to fulfil, though at some inconvenience, the two sets of
obligations. The Law cannot be abrogated—"unless it please the
Most High Lawgiver to communicate to us His will in this matter;
with as loud a voice, as publicly, and in a manner as far above all
doubt and scruple as when He gave us His Law."¹⁰ It is true that
the early reformers, *e. g.*, at Hamburg, sought to hide their doc-

⁸ In the works referred to above.

⁹ "It has often been asked," says Schechter (*JQR.*, 1 (1889), 55), "what the Rabbis would have thought of a man who fulfils every commandment of the Torah, but does not believe that this Torah was given by God, or that there exists a God at all. It is indeed very difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty. In the time of the Rabbis people were still too simple for such a diplomatic religion, and conformity in the modern sense was quite an unknown thing."

¹⁰ In Brasch's edition, 465.

trinal differences from the received Judaism by having recourse to rabbinic authority in order to justify the cutting out of the prayers for the coming of the Messiah and for the restoration of the sacrificial cult; those shifting attitudes, however, were counseled by prudence; the real, that is, doctrinal, meaning and intent of the liturgical reforms could not long remain hidden. GEIGER and HOLDHEIM appeared on the scene; of the two GEIGER (1810-1874) was the more scholarly, HOLDHEIM (1806-1860) the more practical and the more logical reformer. It is HOLDHEIM's merit to have cleanly severed the imperishable, eternal, religious part of Judaism from the perishable, national.¹¹ In the light of the better knowledge of history which we possess to-day and which is the result of the labors of a generation of Old Testament students who gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to GEIGER,¹² we may say that, ever since that memorable event in the wilderness of Midian when God revealed Himself unto Moses in the burning, yet never consumed bush, the religious element in us has tended to destroy everything hostile to its natural development. It was the force that undermined the little kingdoms of Israel and Judah; the force that welded the remnants of Judah into a new community; the force that brought the Maccabees out of their rural seclusion to expel paganized priesthood; the force that created the Pharisaic party which brought about the extinction of the secularized Hasmonean dynasty; the force that reconstituted Judaism upon the ruins of the temple; the force which, in these latter days, calls us to resist the modern attempts at secularizing Judaism and to answer the men of little faith in the words of Ezekiel (xx. 32): That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in what ye say, We will be as the nations,

¹¹ See his *Autonomie der Rabbinen*, 1843; *Vorträge über die mosaische Religion*, 1844. "As for the contention that another revelation is necessary to repeal the ceremonial laws, Holdheim gave utterance to the striking thought that the spirit of the age is also a revelation of God" (Philipson, *JQR.*, 15 (1903), 481). But is not the "spirit of the age" conditioned by environment, and is it not furthermore the fruition of historical movements in the "ages" gone by?

¹² See Wellhausen, *D. Text d. Bücher Samuelis*, 1871, preface; *D. Pharisäer u. d. Sadducäer*, 1874; Siegfried, *loc cit.*, 16, footnote; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895, xix.

as the families of the countries.¹⁸ The tangle of politico-national and religious ideas in which our past is enmeshed and which is especially manifested in the doctrine of the Law and the Messiah, has at last been unraveled, the Gordian knot cut: the task has been performed by GEIGER's scholarship, HOLDHEIM's logic, SAMUEL HIRSCH's philosophic erudition, EINHORN's inspiration, above all by the foresight, undaunted courage and indomitable will of ISAAC M. WISE.

Let me quote the two last utterances of I. M. WISE. In Atlantic City, July 5, 1898, he said to you at the close of his Message: "Permit me to reiterate my old problem, to lay before the world a clear and comprehensive statement of the principles of Judaism—call them dogmas, principles, doctrines, precepts, or by any other name—but let the world know clearly and distinctly what is the substance of Judaism, what are its criteria of distinction from other religious systems . . . It seems to me that many of us preach and teach zealously and claim all excellencies for time-honored Judaism without the ability to form a clear conception of what that most revered Judaism is. If the current definition cannot be written on one sheet of paper, let us write it on twenty or more. If one man cannot do it justice, let many men try, let a committee do it, and many more, say the whole Conference criticise it, until it meets with the approbation and consent of all. But let us no longer stand before the world as a denomination without principles, when in fact every Jew of earnest thought knows well what Judaism is, although he may not be able to define it in clear and intelligible terms. If we are teachers in Israel, as we all claim to be; if we are the only representative body of American Judaism, let us define it for him and for the world, 'And let not the congregation of Israel be like sheep that have no pastor'! As said, I am too old and too busy a man to do

¹⁸ Reformed Judaism and political Zionism are naturally antagonistic. On the other hand, Reformed Judaism, in so far as it is a religious, spiritual movement, has points of affinity with spiritual Zionism, although we are quite aware that spiritual Zionism looks forward to the political independence of Palestinian Jewry as an ultimate goal. On spiritual Zionism see art. "Ginzberg, Asher," in the *Jew. Encycl.* by Dr. Klausner; the same writer's contribution to the *Ahiasaf Calendar* for 1903/4, 353-378; above all the two volumes of essays by Ahad ha'am, פָּרָשַׁת דְּרָכֵיכֶם, Berlin, 1903 and 1904.

that which I want you to do, who are young and strong and have many years of life yet before you."¹⁴

And in his very last utterance to you, in Cincinnati, March 13, 1899, he said: "Permit me . . . to excuse my tardiness. With two of my worthy colleagues I accepted the task to formulate the principles of Judaism, and to report to this venerable body in July next. I could not begin the work before I had ascertained, in the main at least, on what principles this Conference had already agreed. There were given out three years ago two subjects . . . The first was the Messianic doctrine of Judaism, on which, as you well know, the whole body of doctrine depends, especially as to the dividing line not only between Judaism and Christianity, but also between conservative and progressive Judaism. But no report on this subject has reached this body . . . The second subject . . . is 'The Theology of the Union Prayer Book' . . . But this paper also was not before us . . . So much for my own excuse."¹⁵

Brethren, reformation, theologically speaking, means re-formulation of doctrine. Reformation, although an historical fiction, has this much truth in it that it testifies to our conception of a kernel of genuine religious truth which we perceive in the period immediately preceding us to be overlaid by much that is foreign to it, foreign, not in an historical, but in a logical sense. In other words, reformulation means truer, more adequate formulation. I take it that as Reformed Jews we are determined that we do not mean to be a community distinct and separate and holding aloof from our neighbors in any but religious matters; in positive language, that we consider ourselves to be a religious body in which the true intent of the founders of Judaism, realized in the past imperfectly and less adequately, expresses itself now more perfectly and more adequately.

¹⁴ *YB.*, 1898, 16. On p. 56: "Drs. I. M. Wise, M. Mielziner and G. Deutsch were named a committee to formulate the principles of Judaism, to report at the next Conference."

¹⁵ *YB.*, 1899, 26 f. At the Buffalo meeting, July 6, 1900, "Dr. Deutsch was called to read the report of [the committee on] principles of Judaism. On motion of M. H. Harris the reading of the report was dispensed with, and the paper was ordered printed in the Year Book" (*YB.*, 1900, 82). The paper, signed by G. Deutsch and M. Mielziner, is found, *ibid.*, 148-164. As the conclusion proves, the paper lays no claim to finality.

In this fundamental assertion lies the theological aspect of Reformed Judaism. And, without presumption, in line with my foregoing formulation of the doctrines of the Judaism that preceded our reformation, I may be permitted to present what I consider to be the CREED OF REFORMED JUDAISM, that sum of dogmas—I prefer the Greek word to the Latin “principles”—which in the opinion of Reformed Jews constitutes the very core and kernel of Judaism, *das Wesen des Judentums*:

A. THEOLOGY (AND COSMOLOGY):

I BELIEVE IN GOD, THE ONE AND HOLY, THE CREATOR AND SUSTAINER OF THE WORLD:

While in appearance our theology (in the narrower sense) is identical with that of our fathers, it needs re-statement, re-formulation, in the light of modern thought. Dr. PHILIPSON, in his paper on *Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism* referred to above,¹⁶ has a few stray notes. Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE devotes the second chapter of his thoughtful book on *Liberal Judaism*¹⁷ to this subject. But much remains to be done. The modern Jew will not hesitate to accept Principal FAIRBAIRN's conception of creation as a continuous process” (“who daily renewest the works of creation,”¹⁸ in a new and truer sense). I append the following passage from his latest book:¹⁹ “God, then, as the Perfect Reason and Almighty Will, through whose action and by whose energy Nature was and is, cannot be conceived as otiose or inactive; omnipresence is not an occasional, but a permanent attribute of Deity, omnipotence is not incidental or optional. He must be everywhere, and wherever He is He must be operative. Omniscience simply means the omnipresent intellect in exercise. God is the thought that is diffused through all space and active in all time. And this involves the consequence that the form under which His relation to Nature ought to be conceived is immanence, though not as excluding transcendence; for the very reason that requires the interpretative intellect to be transcendent, requires also the causal Intelligence to be the same. But it is the

¹⁶ P. 5.

¹⁷ 1903.

¹⁸ UPB., i. 58. See above.

¹⁹ *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 1902, 58 f.

active intercourse of these two that constitutes Nature as an intelligible whole. For the Divine immanence in Nature is inseparable from the same immanence in mind. There is, so to speak, a constant process of intercommunication, God with man and man with God. And this means that His beneficence becomes a universal and continuous activity. We could not imagine a Being with any grace of character creating for any motives save such as could be described as good, still less could we conceive Him proving unstable and in the course of His providence changing to another and lower will than He had in the beginning. If He were moved to create, it could only be that He might through creation find a richer beatitude; and if the creature was needful to his blessedness, He must be still more needful to its. But if this be so, it can only mean that His creative action never ceases; the sabbath of the Creator is found in an activity which is ever beneficent and never tires. Creation, then, is here conceived not as a finished but as a continuous process." MAIMUNI's Deity, of whom we may only know what He is not,²⁰ will not satisfy the longing of a truly religious soul; we must reenthrone the Living God of biblical and talmudical and liturgical Judaism and reassert our belief in a Divine Personality. We should also oppose the old doctrine of nescience in its modern forms by a sound theory of knowledge. It may be true that HERBERT SPENCER has had them that preach him in the synagogue sabbath after sabbath: but it has to be shown yet that such preaching is consonant with Judaism.

B. ANTHROPOLOGY:

I BELIEVE THAT MAN POSSESSES A DIVINE POWER WHEREWITH HE MAY SUBDUE EVIL IMPULSES AND PASSIONS, STRIVE TO COME NEARER AND NEARER THE PERFECTION OF GOD, AND COMMUNE WITH HIM IN PRAYER :

"Man is not sinful from birth, although liable to sin; he has within himself the power to overcome sin."²¹ "It is the Divine in man which makes him capable of goodness and capable of sin. The consciousness of the contrast between what he is and what he

²⁰ Theory of negative attributes, above.

²¹ *Tendencies of Thought*, 613.

ought to be is only possible because of that element in him which links him with God, and which the Divine spirit without can influence and quicken. We may not wholly identify this divine element with reason, but we may say that it is not conceivably present except in a rational being. For the consciousness of goodness and sin is inseparable both from reason and from the Divine element alike; the two are only separable in thought . . . For God, Who is Himself the supreme ideal of absolute righteousness and love, has willed that man, within his lower and human limits, should also be righteous. The belief that God has this desire, and that man, with God's help, is capable of more or less successfully fulfilling it, constitutes a chief feature of the particular religion which I am seeking to explain.”²²

THAT SELECT INDIVIDUALS ARE, FROM TIME TO TIME, CALLED BY GOD AS PROPHETS AND CHARGED WITH THE MISSION OF DECLARING HIS WILL UNTO MEN;

“The meaning of ‘inspiration’ has greatly changed and widened, but it would be erroneous to say that we no longer believe in it. It has been already stated that the essence of religion consists in the influence of the Divine Spirit without upon the human spirit within. We can open the windows of the soul to the divine light, and the saying of the Psalmist is true: ‘Within thee is the fountain of light; through thy light do we see light.’ Two things are predictable of this communion of man with God and of this influence of God upon man. They take place according to law, they vary in clearness and power. Moreover, the Divine will and the Divine law are necessarily the same. They are different expressions for the same thing. Hence there is no incongruity in saying, for example, that Isaiah was specially inspired by the Divine will . . . We may express this by saying that Isaiah had a great insight into religious and moral truth, and that he expressed this remarkable insight in a remarkable manner . . . But it does not, therefore, follow, that all he said was either true or new . . . God does not allow man, whether in science or religion, to learn at any one period

²² *Liberal Judaism*, 32 f.

all that may be known. He holds back reserves of truth for advancing humanity . . . We must surely believe that the Hebrew prophets were of God, and that fundamental elements of their teaching are the clear expression of his will . . . We do not say: All religious truth is contained in the Hebrew Bible; whatever is outside it is either not new or not true."²² We agree with WELLHAUSEN²³ that he who calls Empedocles and Aeschylus and particularly Socrates and Plato heathens no longer associates a definite meaning with the word. We believe that, from the day that man knew himself as man, he also knew himself, and was, in communication with God. We believe in a general revelation; but, at the same time, we maintain that God revealed Himself more clearly and more truly to our forefathers.

**THAT MAN IS SUBJECT TO GOD'S LAW AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE
SEARCHER OF THE HUMAN HEART AND THE RIGHTEOUS JUDGE FOR
ALL HIS THOUGHTS AND DEEDS;**

Reformed Judaism has reverted to the prophetic conception of the Law. *Micah* vi. 8. "Law" does not adequately render the Hebrew "Torah." "Teaching" would be more suitable. The Torah, at any given period, is the sum and substance of the people's spiritual aspirations, of its culture. In the sense just indicated, all of our literature, biblical and post-biblical, legal and haggadic, is our Torah. It is authoritative for us as a whole, in its larger or total meaning; not this or that chapter, this or that paragraph. I submit myself to the influence of that literature from beginning to end; I then feel that I am permeated with the Jewish spirit. In that spirit I find my moral anchorage, the Law of my conduct. The mere verbal adherence to a detached "commandment" may very often fail in Judaizing my conception of life. *Deut.* xiv. 3-21 and *Levit.* xi., as little as the whole of *Hilkot Trefot*, will make our life Jewish. But we recognize the one great commandment: Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with thy whole heart and soul and power and be holy as He is holy. We believe that in this commandment we have the whole Law. We furthermore value the conception of moral discipline which indeed gives our religion its pecu-

²² *Liberal Judaism*, 89-91.

²³ *IJG.*, 226.

liar coloring. We reassert the centrally Jewish doctrine of human responsibility or "free-will."²⁵ The belief in "free-will" does not preclude our praying for Divine assistance. "We, therefore, beseech Thee, O our God, to help us banish from our hearts all pride and vain-glory, all confidence in worldly possession, all self-sufficient leaning on our own reasoning. Fill us with the spirit of meekness and the grace of modesty, that we may become wise in Thy fear. May we never forget that all we have and prize is but lent to us, a trust for which we must render an account to Thee. We beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, to put into our hearts the love and fear of Thee, that we may consecrate our lives to Thy service and glorify Thy name in the eyes of all peoples."²⁶ Our position, like that of the Pharisees, remains a mediating one. It is a position at once ethical and religious.

THAT HE WHO CONFESSES HIS SINS AND TURNS FROM HIS EVIL WAYS AND TRULY REPENTS IS LOVINGLY FORGIVEN BY HIS FATHER IN HEAVEN;

I need not point out the importance of this portion of our anthropological doctrine. Our holiest day, the Day of Atonement, rests on it. It is not true, as has been said, that Judaism is wholly or principally a religion of justice, and not a religion of mercy or love; that it is communal, dealing "not so much with the salvation of the individual soul as with the problem of the good of the community." It is not true of the past; both Amos and Hosea stood at the cradle of Judaism. It must not be true of the future. To emphasize one or the other side exclusively must lead to one-sidedness and danger. *Summum ius summa iniustitia.* A pious walk with God is well nigh impossible without the hope of Divine forgiveness.²⁷ God the Righteous Judge and God the Loving Father must forever remain the two poles between which the pious soul will quiver. Fear and hope, both together, will make a good man; neither the one nor the other alone.

²⁵ See Lazarus, *loc. cit.*, c. 2; *Liberal Judaism*, *passim*; Fairbairn, *loc. cit.*, 75 f.

²⁶ *UPB.*, i. 57.

²⁷ *Ps. cxxx. 3; UPB.*, ii. 90.

C. PSYCHOLOGY:

I BELIEVE THAT THE PIous WHO IN THIS LIFE OBEY GOD'S LAW AND DO HIS WILL WITH A PERFECT HEART AND THOSE WHO TRULY REPENT, SHARE, AS IMMORTAL SOULS, IN THE EVERLASTING LIFE OF GOD;

"For the dust only returns to the dust; the spirit is implanted by Thee, and returns to Thee, its everliving source. And they who walk here in the light of Thy countenance and sow good seed though in weeping, go home to Thee laden with sheaves. They who sow but wind may tremble at the whirlwind which they must reap. He who toils but for vain things and boasts of his might, must dread the grave."²⁸ It may be true that MAIMUNI's Heaven is aristocratic; but then it is perhaps the only Heaven worth going to. The Universalistic doctrine of general salvation is, I fear, not recognized even in the Union Prayer Book. This, however, ought to be said: no man is altogether wicked, just as little as the elect will uniformly maintain high spirituality. There are hills and depressions in the topography of the spirit as much as on the earth. We must not, however, be blind to differences in spirituality. There is a graded scale all the way from the highest to the lowest; and well may we remind ourselves of what the rabbis say about the separate dwellings which the righteous will occupy in Heaven, "everyone according to his dignity."²⁹ What we mean by our formulation in the text is that death has no sting for those who fasten their mind upon the things eternal. Immortality must be realized in this life. God alone is, by virtue of His Divine nature, immortal; for man to be immortal, he must live in God. The little child that lisps an Amen and the saint that muses on the Divine perfection—both live in God, the one as far as it is possible for a child, the other as far as he can go as a man, a full man, but a man nevertheless. The Pittsburgh Platform³⁰ was somewhat belated in declaring against Hell as an abode for everlasting punishment.³¹

²⁸ UPB., ii. 296.

²⁹ B. *msi'a* 83 b and parallels.

³⁰ See *JQR.*, 10 (1898), 85.

³¹ See Maimuni's declaration to the same effect, above.

D. ECCLESIOLOGY:

I BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL WAS CHOSEN BY GOD AS HIS ANOINTED SERVANT TO PROCLAIM UNTO THE FAMILIES OF MANKIND HIS TRUTH AND, THOUGH DESPISED AND REJECTED OF MEN, TO CONTINUE AS HIS WITNESS UNTIL THERE COME IN AND THROUGH HIM THE KINGDOM OF PEACE AND MORAL PERFECTION AND THE FULNESS OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, THE TRUE COMMUNITY OF THE CHILDREN OF THE LIVING GOD.

Reformed Judaism expects "neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."²² "We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men."²³ Not very felicitously expressed. The millennium is not quite so near. But it is true that we welcome every step that brings us nearer unto the ideal. "Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth."²⁴ We recognize MAIMUNI'S spirit.²⁵ It may be said that Reformed Judaism has reverted to the collectivistic conception of the Messiah. Israel *is* the Messiah. "Still is Israel imbued with the prophetic spirit that renders it a servant unto all humanity. Still we uplift Thy banner, awaiting the blessed time when the Almighty, who revealed Himself to our fathers on Sinai, shall be proclaimed God by all the children of men. We pray that the time may come when strife shall no more set nation against nation; when every one shall sit in peace beneath his own vine and fig tree and none shall disturb them; when swords shall be beaten into plow-shares, and spears into pruning hooks; when nation shall not lift sword against nation, and they shall learn war no more. Then shall Thy kingdom be established on earth and upon all the nations shall rest the spirit of the Lord, even the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord. God will reign forever, thy God, O Zion, from generation to generation. Hallelu-

²² Pittsburgh Platform, *loc. cit.*, 84.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁵ Above.

jah.”²⁶ The dispersion is interpreted as Divinely ordained with a view to Israel’s prophetic mission. “Nay, it dawned upon them, like the rising of a new day, that their separation from their ancestral homes and their dispersion over the earth, far from being a punishment only, was in the hand of God a means of blessing to all mankind. Israel is to witness to the One True and Living God and endeavor to unite all peoples into a covenant of peace, so that the word should be fulfilled in him: ‘In his stripes the world was healed, and in his bruises men found new strength, and through his chains the prisoners of error were set free.’ Not as an accursed sinner, but as a teacher of Thy truth did Israel wander through the centuries, to kindle everywhere the flame of a pure faith and lead the nations to a reconciliation with Thee, their common Father.”²⁷

“This twilight hour reminds us also of the even-tide when, according to Thy gracious promise, Thy light will arise over all the children of men, and Israel’s spiritual descendants will be as numerous as the stars in heaven. Endow us, our Guardian, with strength and patience for our holy mission. Grant that all the children of Thy people may recognize the goal of our changeful career, so that they may exemplify by their zeal and love for mankind the truth of Israel’s watchword: One humanity on earth, even as there is but One God in heaven. Enlighten all that call themselves by Thy name with the knowledge that the sanctuary of wood and stone which erst crowned Zion’s hill, was but a gate, through which Israel should step out into the world to reconcile all mankind unto Thee! Thou alone knowest when this work of atonement shall be completed; when the day shall dawn in which the light of Thy truth, brighter than that of the visible sun, shall encircle the whole earth. But, surely, that great day of universal reconciliation, so fervently prayed for, shall come, as surely as none of Thy words return empty, unless they have done that for which Thou didst send them. Then joy shall thrill all hearts, and from one end of the earth to the other shall echo the gladsome cry: Hear, O Israel, hear, all mankind, the Eternal, our God, the Eternal is One! Then myriads will make pilgrimage to Thy house, which shall be called a house of

²⁶ UPB., ii. 234 f.; after Einhorn.

²⁷ UPB., ii. 238 f.; after Einhorn.

prayer for all nations³⁸ and from their lips shall sound in spiritual joy: Lord, open for us the gates of Thy truth, now when the gates of the old world³⁹ are closing. Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, for the King of glory shall come. Who is the King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord of hosts, the Prince of peace."⁴⁰ In view of the fact pointed out above⁴¹ that Judaism lays more stress upon the future redemption than upon the person who is to carry out the work of redemption, the substitution of the abstract "redemption" for "redeemer" in the new rituals⁴² was after all no marked deviation from the older doctrine. But, upon a little reflection, we may see that we cannot dispense with a personal redeemer as the organ of God's scheme of salvation. Surely, the Divine work cannot be accomplished through the agency of an inert people unless the latter be vitalized by its leaders whom God appoints from time to time. The error lies in the expectation of the advent of a single Messiah. The Divine work of salvation must be done by a series of Messiahs, each paving the way for his successor. All Messiahs are necessarily Pseudo-Messiahs, false Christs. For the real will always fall short of the ideal. Thus Reformed Judaism may with impunity rehabilitate the personal Messiah, the one who *is always to come*. In the aggregate, again, it is Israel that does the Messianic work of redemption. Upon this doctrine, as upon a rock, must the Jewish Church be built, proud of her past, looking forward to grander achievements in the future. She must know her prerogatives, but also her duties. She must become a missionary in all truth, by example and by teaching. She must conquer the world for the Kingdom of God.

This, brethren, is something more than a "colorless Theism." And it would certainly be foolish to excise Theism, *absolute monotheism*, from our Creed because it may perchance be a view held also by others. We, Reformed Jews, must dare to penetrate into the very heart of our religion, enter the sanctuary of God and think

³⁸ This clause interferes with the spiritual meaning of "House" demanded by the context. ³⁹ = the old order of things.

⁴⁰ UPB., ii. 332 f.; adapted from Einhorn's Prayer-Book.

⁴¹ P. 165 ff.

⁴² UPB., i. 24.

the thought of Judaism to its very end. We insist^{*} that he only is a Jew who is a Jew by conviction, who sympathizes with the religious content of Judaism and is willing to shape his life accordingly; we have, or should have, no patience with the race Jew, our D'ISRAELIS, who become proud of their ancestry when once they have deserted us. We do not want a Judaism to be made the subject of historical exhibitions, but one to be professed and lived. If you starve the religious sense, your children's children will hunger and thirst for the Living God and, not finding Him among you, be compelled to seek Him elsewhere; they will take upon themselves many beliefs which are foreign to our conception of God and the spiritual life in preference to famishing spiritually. I should also have you, preachers of the Jewish faith, occasionally, but particularly on the two days so eminently fit for earnest thought (only a traitor to the cause of Judaism will tamper with their serious character), take for the subject of your sermons a portion of our Creed; a doctrinal sermon will appeal to the male audiences when some day, as I hope, you get them, week after week, perhaps more than all your discourses on the Assyrians and Babylonians or upon the geography of the Holy Land. You are fond of appealing to the Jewish heart. If you mean by it an organ of 50 per cent Hittite, 5 per cent Semite, 10 per cent Amorite and 35 per cent bastard origin,^{**} you are Crypto-Zionists, but not Reformed Jews. I should rather have you speak to the Jewish soul shaped through centuries by the men whom God in his love has sent unto us, by MOSES, ELIJAH, AMOS, HOSEA, MICAH, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, the DEUTERNOMISTS, EZEKIEL, the WRITER OF THE LAW OF HOLINESS, DEUTERO-ISAIAH, the AUTHORS OF JONAH AND MALACHI, the PSALMISTS, HILLEL, JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI, the RABBIS and GAONS, SAADIA, SOLOMON IBN GABIROL, JUDAH HA-LEVI, ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, MUSA MAIMUNI, RASHI and the TOSAFISTS, JOSEPH KARO, MOSES ISSERLES, ELIJAH OF VILNA, MOSES MENDELSSOHN, NAHMAN KROCHMAL, LEOPOLD ZUNZ, SAMUEL DAVID LUZZATTO, ABRAHAM GEIGER, LEOPOLD LÖW, SAMUEL HOLDHEIM, DAVID EINHORN, SAMUEL HIRSCH, ISAAC M. WISE. And truly "catholic" Israel will not ignore the Alexandrians with

^{*} See the papers of Hirsch and Philipson quoted above.

^{**} Chamberlain, *loc. cit.*, 372.

their PHILO;⁴⁵ the *historical* Gospel with the *historical* JESUS;⁴⁶ the mystics with ISAAC LURIA (1533-1572) and ISRAEL BAAL SHEM (eighteenth century)⁴⁷—side-currents, it is true, but not without, in one way or another, influencing and thus in part forming the Jewish soul.

Brethren, without a CREED we shall ever be vulnerable. Indeed, our creedless status pleases our enemies; they can then go on holding up to scorn this and that belief, this and that doctrine of the transformation or re-formulation of which, in post-biblical times, much more in our own time, they stubbornly refuse to take notice. And just as vulnerable we shall be, if we fail in creating the proper ecclesiastical organization. SCHREINER⁴⁸ tells us that the aim of Prussian legislation has been to destroy Judaism by degrees⁴⁹ by making the bonds connecting one congregation with another as loose as possible. This country affords us an opportunity which, it may truly be said, Judaism nowhere and at no time possessed, for a true and real ecclesiastical organization. Woe unto American Israel when the day comes and we are found an unorganized bundle of atoms; and woe unto us if we organize on any but ecclesiastical, that is, religious lines! We must unify our societies and place them under the roof of the synagogue. Whatever is inimical or even indifferent to the synagogue must be wiped out of existence. Let us have an organization which will deal with problems while it is in our power to grapple with them and before it is too late. We are

⁴⁵ Philo was re-discovered for the Jews by Azariah de' Rossi (1511-1578); he devotes to the Alexandrian philosopher chapters iii-vi of his work *מאור ענינים*. Next came N. Krochmal in the twelfth chapter of his *מורה נבוכי הומן*. There is no question that Philo exercised an imperceptible influence on the further development of Jewish thought. There are certainly traces of his influence in Ibn Ezra (Bernfeld, i. 70 f.).

⁴⁶ *Mark the adjectives.* There is very little in the *historical* Gospel—that is, the critically ascertainable, actual preaching of Jesus—to which a Jew will take exception. It is different with the canonical Gospels and the dogmatic Christ. If, as is said by Christian theologians (Wellhausen, Harnack), St. Paul transformed the Master's Gospel of the Kingdom into one of the Master, then it is there that Judaism and Christianity go apart.

⁴⁷ to whose impulses is due the rise of the pietistic sects of the Hasidim and the spiritualization of intellectual rabbinism.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 163 f.

⁴⁹ *das Judentum allmählich totzuschlagen.*

not ready for an episcopate; our big men lack the culture and the generosity and the piety, and our little men would be popelings in their own little domains. We need an organization which will leave the congregations and their leaders autonomous; for local conditions naturally differ and can be dealt with best by local methods and local wisdom. But let that organization be charged with handling matters that concern us all; with creating national movements; with maintaining a *Publication Bureau* for the turning out of works which, while strictly scientific, shall set forth in language intelligible to the educated layman and in a dignified tone the truth about Judaism, especially in its relation to other religions; with instituting lectureships on similar subjects under the auspices of a *Jewish Truth Society*; with calling into life *societies for spiritual culture*, and for similar activities. When we shall have that organization, we shall also have organized thought; we shall husband our talent and not scatter it in all directions; we shall have a Jewish philosophy and a Jewish theology in all truth. It is high time that we cease to be footnotes to the texts furnished by the world: let us have a world of our own, a spiritual world, a world of thought. Let us have a *SYNOD* as the key-stone of our CHURCH.⁵⁰

Mr. President: As a member of this body, I move

1. That this Conference, before it adjourns, appoint a committee charged with preparing the Creed of Reformed Judaism, which work shall consist of a brief text and an exhaustive historical and theological commentary in language accessible to the educated classes, using, if it so choose, the draft herein presented as a basis.
2. That the Committee report in manuscript to the Conference meeting next year.
3. That the Conference, after adopting the work prepared by the

⁵⁰ "The Synod," says Dr. Enelow (*YB.*, 1900, 132). The historical errors of the paper were pointed out by Dr. Deutsch in session: see *ibid.*, 59), "remained to his last day one of Wise's ideals, of which, however, portions have been realized owing to his indefatigable energy. Both the rabbinical and the congregational unions are manifestations of the synodal idea—they are two fragments of the ideal which Wise never ceased to nourish and which possibly yet awaits realization: the continuance of [the] Jewish religion in the New World through the medium of . . . the Synod."

committee, or a similar work, lay the Creed before a Synod to be convened in 1905, for confirmation.

4. That the Synod then to be convened consist of one-fifth of the members of this body duly elected in the Conference, and of an equal number of laymen elected by the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, and that two-thirds of the membership of the Synod constitute a majority of votes.

5. That the presiding officer of the Synod be a member of the Conference.

6. That the Synod promulgate the Creed presented to it by the Conference as the **CREED OF THE REFORMED JEWISH CHURCH OF AMERICA**, and that the Synod act upon other matters only when presented to it by the Conference, but not of its own initiative.

7. That the Synod, constituted and elected in the same manner as for its first convention, meet hereafter every five years and act on matters laid before it by the Conference, and that the quinquennial conventions be particularly charged with the revision of the Creed if such revision is recommended by the Conference.

8. That the Conference have a standing committee on Creed and Doctrinal Matters.

DISCUSSION OF THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF REFORMED JUDAISM.

RABBI S. HECHT.

It is a great pleasure to me to be permitted, after the lapse of five years, to join you, my brethren, in your deliberations, concerning the best and highest interests of our hallowed cause; it is a great privilege to be an active participant in your great and good work, and I keenly appreciate the distinguished honor you have conferred on me by assigning to me the lead in the discussion of a paper, presented by the learned and erudite scholar in whom, as a Californian, I take particular pride. At the same time I confess that the task assigned to me, is one that might tax and overtax the powers of a scholar far greater than I claim to be. Had it been mine to present the subject, irrespective of another's presentation, it might have been easy sailing, but with no, or but a scanty, knowledge of the outlines of the masterly effort, to which we have just listened, and with the realization of the magnitude of the subject, I was, indeed, in a predicament as I attempted to condense my thoughts upon the subject, in order fittingly to present it before so critical an audience. As I revolved the subject in my mind, I recalled a certain author of some pretension who, some years ago, essayed the publication of a book, entitled "Snakes in Iceland." The learned author devoted the first long chapter of the book to an elaborate statement, which, summed up, declared that there were no snakes in Iceland. After I had caused the multitudinous definitions of the word "theology" to pass in review before me; after I had hastily reviewed the many-sided aspects of theology itself, it was but natural that I should have thought and, perhaps, said: "There is no theology in Judaism." But for a moment only did I allow this thought to obtrude itself, for in the next moment I was overwhelmed with the striking and indisputable evidences of the massive theology that has been the inseparable companion of Judaism, ever since

Judaism began, and which, in the process of time and development, so far from diminishing, has increased in volume up to this very day.

We may lack a specific Jewish theological literature, but it were manifestly false, for this reason to deny the existence of Jewish theology. We have not, or rather we had not up to comparatively recent times, any specific work on Jewish jurisprudence; yet no one in his senses, would from this proposition successfully argue against the existence of Jewish jurisprudence. So that, even if we lack text-books on Jewish theology, there is, scattered all through the vast store-house of Jewish learning and Jewish literature, from the earliest Bible-records to the last publications of the programs and platforms of Prof. Schechter of the Theological Seminary, and of Dr. Kohler, President-elect of the Hebrew Union College, ample and abundant material for the compilation of an exhaustive work on Jewish theology.

This statement is not affected in its fundamental truths, whether we subscribe to the definition of the subject as given by the author of the scholarly paper before us, or whether we define, with the Century Dictionary, theology as the science concerned with ascertaining, classifying and systematizing all attainable truths concerning God and His relation to the universe; or whether we simply describe theology as religious truth, scientifically stated.

Theology is the theory, religion the practice of right living, according to the will of God; hence theology as the science of religion sustains towards religion that relation which every other science sustains towards the subject-matter of which it is the subject.

Now, since theology is concerned with all the attainable truth concerning God, and since God affects and controls all, the most widely diverging interests, it is clear that theology affects, or is concerned with a widely diffused subject-matter, and this fact alone furnishes the most potent argument in favor of the cultivation of this science, and the most triumphant refutation of the many and severe charges preferred against it. Indeed, so far from being justified in declaring Judaism dogmaless, we are, by the above consideration, in duty bound to give our modern Judaism a clear, positive and direct theological or, if you please, dogmatic basis. We

cannot, without becoming guilty of perversion of truth, without violating the laws of logic, assume on the one hand that theology is the product of the mind, which is subject to growth, hence to changes, and on the other hand deny this growth, and consequent change, to theology. Even if we admit, as admit we must, that theology has and had the tendency to separate the children of the great human family, to provoke bitterness of feeling, and to impose galling fetters; the fact remains that as long as religion exists, theology, too, must exist, yea, as long as God is, the mind of man will be concerned with Him, will try to learn more and more about him, and that is theology, which in order not to become a misfit, must grow and change with the mind of which it is a product.

I shall not attempt in this paper to cover the ground so carefully and elaborately treated by Prof. Margolis. The scanty acquaintance with the contents of his paper at the time that I prepared this, precluding such a course. Moreover, since after listening to his exposition I have been convinced of what I previously surmised that his definitions as well as his deductions bear the stamp of the modern scholar, and are based upon such undisputed authority that admits of little if any contradiction, I am inclined to agree with him in the main, and I shall therefore take the position that Jewish theology, as it is known to us, and as the product of the intellect, is not entirely Jewish in its sources, and that although the Jewish spirit predominates in all its provisions, the intellectual stimulus has often been given by the mental achievements of other nations. Thus, we know that the institution of Purim is of foreign origin, and accommodated to Jewish ideas, and even Maimonides, whose every work bears the impress of his genius, of his Jewish spirit, has not been uninfluenced by the philosophy of Aristotle.

The sources of Jewish theology, especially the Bible and the rabbinical literature, in their original form, are not intelligible to the consciousness of the modern mind, they being preponderatingly epigrammatic, and have been subjected to careful investigation and liberal amplification in order to adapt them to the student of theology. The political catastrophe brought about by the fall of the Temple and the subsequent dispersion of Israel, naturally and decidedly affected the cult, and men, like Jochanan b. Zaccai who, at

that crucial period, stood at the head of religious affairs, endeavored not only to furnish a substitute for what temporal power had been lost, by intellectual pursuits, but by a religious and ceremonial law in keeping with the requirements of the new era, and calculated to affect beneficially the moral status of the people. The theology of this period, therefore, is a collection and amplification of former enactments, forming a hedge around the individual and communal life, abounding in observances, religious practices, symbolic acts, etc., affecting all the minutiae of life, the time of the day, the season of the year, the phenomena of nature, etc. The long and stately array of benedictions, preserved to this day, show plainly how all work, every event, joyful or woeful, in the life of the people was sanctified in a manner that was intended to free them from the bondage of matter, and to raise them above sensuality and impure desires.

Nay more; the adoption, authoritatively, of a complete system of religious laws had the effect of creating a bond, spiritually uniting the community, and reciprocally affecting the individual so as to safeguard and promote the interests of the community.

Jochanan b. Zaccai aimed at the establishment of a cult; so also Simon the Just before him, who taught: "The world rests upon three things, viz.: Law, Divine service and Charity," and although *divine service* then had reference to sacrificial cult, it came to be applied to every specifically religious practice after the abolition of the sacrifices. In the course of time these several institutions, adopted by the congregation, became the powerful means for the development and conservation of the religious consciousness.

In all these provisions, of course, the God-idea played an important part; as we, so did they before us, consider life unthinkable without a God; they, as well as we, cannot conceive of a spiritual world without the belief in the existence of God, any more than a material world can be conceived without a sun; and therefore I deem it in place to say here a word on the Jews' conception of deity. Great and profound scholars and theologians, such as Ewald, Wellhausen, Stade, Pfeiderer, etc., have clearly shown the development of the God-idea from its crudest and most primitive conception to that lofty and rational one which now obtains, and which is yet being

further developed and clarified by the operation of the progressive human mind.

We learn from those savants how in earliest times Israel as well as other nations inclined to totemism, fetichism, animism, etc., how a little later "according to the number of thy cities were thy gods O Israel," how each tribe had its own god or gods, how this god later on came to be a national god, until the prophets promulgated the lofty idea that the God of Israel was not his exclusive God, but the God of the whole world; and when this lofty idea was brought to the peoples of the earth, it was not as the God of Israel, but their God as well, the God of mankind. Says Prof. Lazarus: "It was the God of all, though the one God; it had found him within itself, and had found itself in him."

And thus the contention of the universality of religion is established by Israel and amply supported by the testimony of the Bible.

Before we can proceed to the discussion of the theological aspect of modern Judaism, we must first try to define what Judaism is. But just here is the rub. I have heard it defined by many people, I have read definitions laid down in print by many writers, but I do not believe that any two such definitions agreed, so that my attempt at defining Judaism would add perhaps one more to the numerous versions extant, without bringing us nearer the goal. I entertain the firm hope, however, that this discussion may be the means of finally fixing the status of Judaism, if not for all, at least for our "Gesinnungsgenossen," if not for all time, at least for ours. I consider the suggestions to that end given by Prof. Margolis as being neither visionary, nor impossible, and eminently worthy of the most earnest consideration of this august and representative body. But this only in passing. So far I have been most favorably impressed with the definition of Judaism as essayed by Prof. Schechter, who says: "Judaism is a great Infinite, composed of many endless units; these units are the Jews." Accepting this definition, we learn from a cursory glance at the pages of Israel's history that the Jews, scattered all over the earth, were exposed to influences, both good and evil, with a correspondingly good or evil effect on their religion, and their life.

But in one respect we find them all and always to occupy, theoret-

ically at least, a common basis; this basis formed by Faith and Hope; faith in the One God, and hope in the ultimate recognition by the whole world of that God. (Of course, I speak here of Israel and his religion in an advanced stage.) The belief in God thus forming a basic principle of Judaism is not the result of a direct Biblical injunction. It is only inferentially that such an injunction may be found, as for instance when Maimonides and others read it into the first of the Sinaitic words. But there really was no necessity for such definite instruction to believe in God's existence. They felt that they had ocular proofs of His existence. They saw God, saw Him in His manifestations, in His works, and although this study of the natural phenomena resulted in polytheism; it was not long before the Bible-word counteracted successfully this aberration of the mind with its pernicious consequences, and established the relation between God and man. And now the people learned to distinguish between good and evil, right and wrong, to do the good in order to please God, to shun the evil, lest they offend Him; hence all the laws of morality, such as are laid down in the XIXth chapter of Leviticus and elsewhere, are in keeping with the established relation between God and man, and their violation is considered sinful, not from an utilitarian standpoint, but from the standpoint of duty to God.

Idolatry, under such conditions, was the greatest abomination, and the eradication thereof was the greatest task of the prophets, the avowed mission of prophetic Judaism. The period of the exile effectually removed this great evil, and radically cured the people of that malady; but a new disease developed in the post-exilic period, and the teachers of the Talmudical period were confronted with the sin of unbelief, the extermination of which taxed to the utmost the powers of the rabbis. They, by their keen dialectics, unerringly traced all sins and all evils to the source of unbelief. Thus we read in the Talmud that Cain killed his brother, because he, by implication, denied the existence of God, of the judge who punishes the wicked, for, said they, the commission of a crime in secret is tantamount to the attempt to deny God, and they inferred that denial on the part of Cain from his commission in secret of the crime of fratricide. As a counter-proof of their contention they

refer to Abraham, who believed in God, and it was accounted to him as righteousness.

Among those who forfeit their Olom Habbah they mention the Epicurus, together with those who deny Torah min Hashamayim, and T'Chiyath Hammesim and define the Epicurus now as one who denies S'Char V'Onesh, and again as one who rejects Providence. From these and other rabbinical definitions of Epicurus we infer that to the Talmudists Judaism required a belief in resurrection and revelation, and reverence for the teachers. Here I wish to forestall the objection to this proposition on the ground that the rabbis themselves declared, that the Jew who sinned remained a Jew nevertheless, and that any one who is Kopher Ba-Avodath Elilim is a Jew, by stating that in these and similar passages the element of theology is in no wise involved, that they speak of the Jew in a political or, if you please, in a national sense, in the sense, I mean, in which we speak of an American. He may transgress the law, he may become an unworthy, undesirable American, but he is an American still. Nor does the sin of the child affect his natural relation to the offended father; and so the Jew who sins, by violating any or all the basic doctrines of Judaism, is punished, is a poor specimen of a Jew, but a Jew for all that.

Now as to theology or its requirements, it is safe to assert that they were not immutable, but that one succeeding generation took it upon itself, with the consent of its teachers, and in deference to altered circumstances, or through contact with other schools to modify if not to rescind the enactments of the preceding generation.

In proof of this statement I mention as the first departure from the Rabbinic school, the school of the Caraites. For, unlike that famous Greek legislator who, on leaving his country, stipulated that his enactments remain intact during his absence, the rabbis not only countenanced but, under certain circumstances, encouraged changes, abrogations and substitutions. Thus we read of R. Simon b. Lakish: "To annul a law sometimes means its establishment." Another doctrine, frequently emphasized, was: "The decision in any given case depends not upon the age of the teacher, but upon his argument," which goes to prove that with all the reverence paid to tradition, those men recognized the duty of giving free rein to

conscience instead of suppressing it by hard and fast lines. Without investigation progress is impossible, and hence we incline to the method which refused justification to a doctrine unless Scriptural authority and reason established its validity and truth, and in this view we are supported by the authority of Hillel, who favored the abrogation and evasion of even a Biblical teaching, or law, if by so doing the spiritual purpose of such law or injunction might be more effectively fulfilled. Such a method had the advantage of being the means to suppress ill-concealed arrogation of power under the cloak of modesty and humility, and to refute the ancient principle: "Custom and usage developed in Israel, are invested with the authority of law." Nevertheless I would not be understood as if radical changes in religious laws were of frequent occurrence, since it is well-known that to the Jews of a former period the law, every law, was an emanation from God, and therefore the changes, when made, were made only when absolutely indispensable, and then only on the basis of the old law, and as much as possible in harmony with it.

Returning now to the school of the Caraites, with its ten dogmas, we know that while this sect was tenacious of those doctrines, and while the few remaining adherents of that school still abide by them, the Caraites never exercised a far-reaching influence upon Judaism, and that very early in their history they were severely attacked by Saadiah in his *Emunoth V'Deoth*. But neither he, nor Jehudah Hallevy nor Ibn Daud succeeded in formulating a new creed. This was reserved for Moses Maimonides, whose thirteen creeds created a sensation and became the topic of earnest and absorbing discussion in the circles, both of his supporters and antagonists. For almost immediately on the promulgation of those articles of faith, the Jews arrayed themselves into Maimonists and Anti-Maimonists. The discussions, provoked by the contrasting views of the opposing parties, proved of material service to literature and truth, as is the case in every controversy conducted in the service of a higher cause.

The opponents of Maimonides held, on the one hand, that Judaism can have no dogmas, and on the other that while Judaism may be confined within the bounds of a creed; the Maimonidian creed did

not answer the purpose. I do not wish to elaborate on these creeds, being in accord on that point with the author of the paper before us, neither can I be expected to dwell at length upon the position of Nachmanides or Crescas, who opposed Maimonides, or upon Isaac Abarbanel's unique position, who, although an anti-Maimonist, attacked the anti-Maimonists just mentioned; suffice it to say that while finally the disputations on this subject ceased, probably owing to the attitude of the Italian scholar Del Medigo, and while for upward of a century the combatants rested, Rabbi Saul of Berlin, as late as the beginning of the 18th century, re-opened the controversy, and, according to Prof. Schechter, gave expression to this, to my mind, timely truth: "Dogmas should never be laid down but with regard to the necessities of the time." In passing, I would remark that at the suggestion of Rabbi Saul, and in accordance with the plan of Maimonides himself, this august body might fitly consider the formulation of a creed, in keeping with the requirements of our time, and along the lines Prof. Margolis suggested.

Reformed Judaism is not sufficiently understood; hence the difficulty in the way of a theology in harmony with such Judaism. R. Simon b. Lakish understood the true essence of reform, and those who declare its tendency to be destructive have a perverted conception of it; for in very truth it is conservative in the strict and literal sense of the word, and while the most radical of our brethren will readily admit that every custom, ceremony and usage not only had but has a definite value; it is but fair that even the most orthodox should, on his part, concede that these usages may have lost their absolute binding force, and may not be a prerequisite of salvation.

At the first Israelitish synod in Leipsic in 1869 the question was discussed whether traditional obligation or free subjection to law should rank first, and finally, unanimously adopted the following resolution: "The Jewish synod recognizes Judaism to be in accord with the principles of modern society, and of the modern state founded upon law, as these principles were proclaimed by Mosaism, and developed in the teachings of the prophets; that is, in accord with the principles of the oneness of mankind, of the equality of all before the law, of the equality of all with respect to duties and

privileges in the state, and of the liberty of the individuals in matters of religious convictions and creed."

Prof. Pfleiderer, in one of his lectures on evolution and theology, makes use of the following language in setting forth the aims of religion, and I have no doubt that we can all heartily subscribe to, and cheerfully endorse it: "We of to-day," says he, "should try to set forth the truths of religion in the language and for the understanding of our time, try to contribute our share toward the gradual realization of the prophetic word: 'they shall all be taught of God.' Our times are characterized by a spirit of inquiry, by a search after truth and knowledge, a pressing and striving for deliverance from prejudices, restricting limits, and unnatural fetters. The synagogue should endeavor to place anew before the eyes of our generation, and bring near the heart of our brethren the ideas and ideals as the guiding stars of human endeavor.

And in more terse, but no less beautiful language, Prof. Schechter says: "Every great religion is a concentration of many ideas and ideals, which make this religion able to adapt itself to various modes of thinking and living. But there must always be a point round which all these ideas concentrate themselves. This center is dogma."

Reform Judaism is prophetic Judaism developed. We cannot in our theology be guided by either Mosaism or Rabbinism. We may, and we do, recognize the great merits of both; we admit that under the influence of Rabbinism literary activity, intellectual work has flourished, that under its enactments the home became sanctified, virtue and personal purity fostered, character strengthened, and that these and other of its merits have more than overbalanced the disadvantages of its burdensome legislation, but we are concerned with life and its present realities, and these appealed to the prophets as they appeal to us. The prophets reflected the conscience of the people, their theme was God, their aim, righteousness and truth. To an Isaiah morality exceeds in value all Sabbath, New Moon and festival observances; a Micah recommends as pleasing in the sight of God a life of right doing, of love and humility in preference to all bloody sacrifices.

At the beginning of this twentieth century, however, we feel the

ill effects of the rationalism which characterized the eighteenth, and of the so-called higher criticism which the nineteenth century so assiduously cultivated. Ritualism and dogmatism have suffered severely under their influence, and to-day Judaism presents an aspect of such flexibility that many are inclined to deny Judaism any backbone. The situation in modern Judaism is precarious. This is a fact that cannot be blinked. The coming generation is not likely, under existing conditions to carry on the glorious warfare of their elders; nor is peace in sight without an inglorious surrender. Reform has come with the fall of the walls of the ghetto. We cannot allow them to be rebuilt. Jewish exclusion and seclusion have ceased, and a free intercourse with the world at large has taken their place with beneficent results. These advantages we must not, cannot sacrifice now. Nor is such a sacrifice necessary. But in the face of all these facts, yea, because of them, we need a system of Jewish theology, positive, clear-cut, and adapted to our times and conditions. If we cannot stem the destructive current, if we are unable to keep or win back our young and enlist them in the cause of our religion, it is easy to guess whither their disaffection will lead. But I am firmly of the belief that an appeal to reason and emotion must carry the day for Judaism, and in such a course lies our destiny and our duty.

RABBI M. FRIEDLANDER.—*Mr. President and Rabbis:* Well knowing and fully appreciating the extent and profundity of the scholarship of Prof. Margolis, the author of the paper I am asked to discuss, I shall make no attempt to discuss every detail of the paper. Nor could I, for I humbly admit that I have not the access into the vast and various resources that the author of the paper has.

If the author had left out from the title of this paper the word "Reformed," if the subject of this treatise had read "The Theological Aspects of Judaism," the author endeavoring, as many have endeavored before him, to point out the doctrines, accepted as fundamentals and essentials in Jewish Theology, I should have nothing but expressions of admiration for so masterly a presentation, in which are marshalled together a wealth of thought from Moses the Lawgiver to Moses Maimonides, from Moses Maimondes to Moses

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Mendelssohn, from Moses Mendelssohn to the latest writer on religion and theology. Or, if this paper had been written independently of this Conference, I could truthfully pronounce it a valuable contribution to the great mass of theological speculation, and class the author, either with the Maimonists, or with the anti-Maimonists. In regard to the belief that Judaism has fixed creeds and dogmas, he is a Maimonist, whereas, in regard to the number and nature of the creeds, he is unmistakably an anti-Maimonist. And he has a right to either position. He has the same right to formulate creeds as Maimonides had; he has the same right to differ from Maimonides as regards the number of creeds, as Ibn Crescas, his disciple Joseph Albo, and others. The Talmud does not question the right of David to reduce Moses' 613 commandments (according to Rabbi Simloï and Rab Hammono) to eleven, of Isaiah to reduce them to six, and again to two, of Mica to reduce them to three, of Habbakuk to reduce them to one (*Maccoth* 23b-24a). Judaism does not muzzle anybody from giving his opinion on speculative religion. It does not demand an unqualified "amen" to the utterances of any scholar, no matter how great an authority he may be acknowledged to be. Prof. Margolis has a right to formulate creeds, and everybody else has the right either to accept or to reject them.

In that case, however, if I disagreed with the author I could, as a friend, consistently withhold my variance from publicity. But since this paper, with the label "Reformed," was written for, and at the instance of, this Conference, since his paper before us is now virtually a Conference paper and its acceptance, in whole or in part, by this body would make it, at least to its members, a Conference authority, I cannot, with all due regard for the Professor, be true to the Conference, true to my charge as teacher in Israel, and true to myself, and refrain from openly disagreeing from the entire viewpoint of the author. In this case I have to eliminate the personal equation and point out to the Conference what, in this paper, is, in my opinion, incomplete, inadequate, and objectionable.

Let me, in the first place, point out my objection to a statement in the opening paragraph of the paper, as I have it in the synopsis, upon logical grounds. After the author defines theology as "Organized Religious Thought," he concludes, "No religion can be

without a theology." Now, while accepting this definition of theology I must pause a moment before subscribing to the conclusion that "No religion can be without a theology."

Since the study of comparative religion has become a science, scarcely half a century, the best scholars in the field of religion, philology, and archaeology, have devoted much time and labor to the inquiry of the origin of religion and without satisfactory results. Different theories have been advanced for the origin of the first rudiment of religion, that is, the origin of the belief in a higher Power, or powers, and the first motive for seeking favor from this Power, or powers, and every theory has met with serious objections. The student must still be content with a religious origin that lies beyond the border-line of history. He is still begging of gray Antiquity for some positive information as to how, and when, the phenomenon of religion first presented itself in the life of man. No matter how far back he traces life, he finds some sort of religious customs and practices, which give evidence of religious belief, sprung from antecedent sources. In the light of this fact the unqualified statement that "No religion can be without a theology" does not appear acceptable. I cannot see it. The definition of theology as "*organized* religious thought," that is, the elucidation of religious doctrines and the explanation of the necessity of religious rites, makes the conclusion that there is no religion without *organized* thought, no religious practice without a clear and systematic account, of the authority and necessity of that practice, logically untenable. Can it be said that the bewildering jungle of all manner of wild practices in early savage religion had a theology, a clearly defined account of its necessity, and a systematically organized elucidation of the conception whence they sprung? Did the first totem worshiper (see Frazer's *Golden Bough*; also article "totemism" Ency. Brit., 9th Ed.), the early worshiper of ancestral spirit (see Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," vol. 1, chs. viii-xvii), the early personifier of Nature, impelled by a vague sense of fear and awe, have a theology? Has the Eskimo Indian, who still bows and prays to his totem pole, a theology? Even the believer in direct and special divine Revelation can hardly maintain that the Sinaitic generation had a theology according to the author's

definition of the term. It took some centuries for our theologians to explain that the first dogma, the belief in the existence of God, is embodied in the first commandment.

According to my way of reasoning, the professor's statement that, "No religion can be without a theology," finds no support either in logic or in history. I believe that religion—the belief in a higher Power, and the observance of rites as a means for securing the favor of this Power, whether it spontaneously sprang from a sense of awe and fear that was natural, or, according to the Deists, this fear was deliberately created by the cunning of the priests (Hume, "Natural History of Religion"); whether mankind received a direct divine bidding to have it, or it is an ingredient part of man's nature,—existed in an unorganized form for centuries, until man in an advanced stage of culture classified it, organized it, gave it expression in philosophical thought, and called it Theology.

I shall now proceed with the discussion of the creeds of the paper, and I want to say that I consider them with much seriousness. I feel that the acceptance of these creeds by the Conference would purport to make them the catechism of my Judaism, and of the Judaism of my congregation. And before accepting a catechism for my religion, it is my duty to ask, first: Is its content, both in letter and in spirit, as I understand it, wholly Jewish? Second: Does its content give a full, clear and adequate guide for my Jewish religious life and thought? I am sorry to be compelled to say that I find in it neither of the requisites. I shall first point out the defects in the creeds, and then show their inefficiency.

The first article reads: "I believe in God, the One and Holy, the Creator and Sustainer of the world." In my opinion, "Holy" has no place here. Holiness, as a divine attribute, can, in no sense, be regarded as a fundamental principle, or even as a minor doctrine, in which one must believe in order to be a Jew—orthodox or reformed. Throughout the entire Jewish theology, the Talmud included (*Sanhedrin 90a*), it is nowhere indicated that holiness or holy is considered a doctrine. "Holy" is simply a moral quality, not a metaphysical verity, or a theological doctrine. The Siphro translates קָדוֹשׁ מְהֻנָּה. "Ye shall be holy," the opening command to the nineteenth chapter to Leviticus, containing the principal ethical

teachings of the Torah as פָּרוֹשִׁים תְּהִיוּ. "Ye shall be separated;" that is, ye shall be free from sin, illicit intercourse, and uncleanness, which alone makes the attainment of moral perfection possible. Israel's appellation, "a holy nation" (Exodus xix, 6), and the com-disappeared" (Kesuboth, 103b). On this passage Tosefot remarks that "the statement in Sotto that with Rabbi's death humility remand to the priests, "They shall be holy," (Lev. xxi, 6), may be understood in the same sense (see J. Orr's article, "Kingdom of God," in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, 3b). In the Talmud it is asked, why Rabbi—Rabbi Yehuda Hanassi—was called "Our Rabbi the Holy?" "Because," the answer is given, "he never let his hands drop below the abdominal belt" (Shabbath 118b). Says R. Chiya, "On the day when Rabbi died, holiness disappeared" (Kethuboth, 103b). On this passage Tosefot remarks that "the statement in Sotta that with Rabbi's death humility and God-fearing had ceased, also includes holiness." The word "holy" in the Bible is also used in a bad sense (Gen. xxxviii, 21; Deut. xxiii, 18; Hosea iv, 14). קדוש seems primarily to have had the same double meaning as "taboo." "Holy," or holiness, comes nearest to the sense of "taboo" in Tosefot (Kiddushin 2b) in which the marriage declaration הַרֵּא אֶת מִקְוָשֶׁת לִי is explained as meaning "Thou art hallowed to the world because of me." In other words, the marriage vow taboos the woman to her husband in one sense of the word, and to the world in another sense of the word. "Holy," especially in the constructive form with Israel in the objective, קדוש יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs oftenest in Isaiah. And one is apt to believe that the prophet uses the word in a metaphysical sense, but a closer study rather helps to affirm that in Isaiah, as elsewhere, "holy" stands for a moral quality (Is. v. 16.) The fact that Isaiah directed his chief efforts to social reforms, and arraigned his people for social perversions in more stinging language than any other prophet, is perhaps the reason that Isaiah often employed the word "holy," reminding them of that virtue indispensable to a moral life.

From what I have here gathered it cannot but be deduced that "holy" does not express an absolute truth, our knowledge of which being only an object of thought, like Unity, Incorporeality, etc., when it could be regarded as a dogma, but is merely a moral quality, like

mercy, forgiveness, etc., our knowledge of the existence of it being based on experience, and necessarily admitting relativity, an attribute which has surely no place amongst creeds.

The first creed in the second article reads as follows: "I believe that there is in man a divine spark by the help of which he may subdue his evil impulses and passions." This, in my judgment, is logically confounded and theologically confounding. What does the author mean by "divine spark?" What faculty in man does "divine spark" refer to, and what other faculty in the same man does he in the phrase "He may subdue" refer to? If the text had read: I believe that there is in man a divine spark which may subdue his evil impulses and passions, it could have been understood to mean that man's better self—his reason, conscience, and moral consciousness is a divine spark, that is, inherently divine, which, by virtue of its being divine-like, antagonizes and subdues man's lower faculties which lure him to evil-doing. But as the text reads now it is painfully vague. According to the language of the text, man seems to possess three distinct faculties; one as comprised in "divine spark," another indicated by the pronoun "*he*," and still another referred to by the possessive "*his*." Surely the author has a right to his own classification and enumeration of the human faculties, but here they are confoundingly unclassified. While the language speaks of three faculties, the sense of it only gives two; the second faculty is given no function, as it is perfectly helpless and powerless without the "divine spark." This also makes the theology in the creed rather unclear. Making the virtuous faculties in man powerless without the help of the divine spark, divests him of free will. Does the author here mean to teach Philo's doctrine which has become a leading dogma in Calvinism, that man, as a sensuous being, is incapable of liberating himself from sensuousness without the help of God? (Schurer II, iii, 379). If so, the divine spark, like Philo's "*Logos*," should be transcendent, existing apart from, and outside of, man, while the text reads, "There is *in* man a divine spark," making the divine whatever-it-is immanent, a part of his mental self. In any way, the creed leaves me in doubt whether religiously I am to believe that man has the power to "subdue his evil impulses" or not.

The belief in prophecy declared in the next creed of the same article is framed in language which, to my mind, makes room for much mischief; it does not require any prerequisites of the prophet. To make clear my criticism, I shall set side by side a quotation from the chapter on Prophecy in the *Guide*, and the text from this paper. In giving three views concerning prophecy, Maimonides says: הרעת הראשון והוא שחשית' יבחר מי שירצה מבני אדם וישראל "The first view, viz., the view of some of the ignorant populace, is, that God *selects*, out of the common people, anyone he pleases, rests upon him the spirit of prophecy, and sends him on a mission" (More, Vol. II, xxx). Maimonides then goes on to prove that physical, moral and intellectual qualifications of the highest order are indispensable preparatories to the eligibility of a prophet. Here is the text of the paper: "That select individuals are, from time to time, called by God as prophets and charged with the mission of declaring his will unto men." Now, what, according to the language in this text, prevents any fanatic from proclaiming himself, or anyone else, a 'select individual called by God as prophet?'" The Professor leaves a possibility for the occurrence of just such mischief as Maimonides meant to prevent by emphasizing, לילא "That it is impossible for an ordinary man to retire in the evening without prophetic qualifications, and rise in the morning a prophet."

The same article gives two more dogmas: viz., the belief in moral responsibility, and the efficacy of repentance. There is indeed felt in modern Judaism a want for renewed emphasis upon these guiding principles which are getting lost in the spreading mist of Rationalism and Utilitarianism. And if his statement of these dogmas were not so covered up with a redundancy of words, and hidden under a strain of rhetoric, their emphasis would be of much greater weight.

The third article deals with the dogma of immortality, and reads as follows: "I believe that the pious, who in this life obey God's Law and do His will with a perfect heart, and those who truly repent, shall have their souls immortal, and when freed from their bodies awake in God's own world there to enjoy the spiritual vision of God." The verbose and ambiguous language in which

this dogma is framed would keep an inquiring mind busy with asking questions and solving problems all the rest of his life. "In this life;" is there another life where man has a choice to be pious? "Obey God's law;" which law? The law of nature, or the law of Sinai? If the latter, according to whose interpretation, the orthodox Rabbi's or the reformed Professor's? If of the latter, what is it? "And do His will;" are there two distinct codes for the pious to observe, God's Law and God's Will? "With a perfect heart;" what does this condition preclude from "having their souls immortal?" Does it preclude a piety of utility? The most serious objections to this creed are, first, it implicitly denies any redemption to the unrepentant sinner; second, it does not discriminate between sinners, or grade the nature of sin. According to the text, one who disobeys any one of God's laws, or violates any part of God's will, no matter what its nature, is forever denied the awakening "in God's own world." In this rigidness against sinners the Professor finds support, however, in Maimonides, on whom this article seems to be based. In speaking of "the good that is treasured away for the righteous," Maimonides says: "The reward of the righteous will be admittance to this bliss and sharing in this good (immortality), and the punishment of the wicked will be non-admittance to life, but they shall be cut off and dead" (*Hilchoth Teshuba*, Ch. viii). But the Professor evidently took no notice of the criticisms by almost every commentator on this article of Maimonides. Rabbi Joseph Karo says of this: *מי שראויה דבר זה לו נוקפו* "Whoever reads this passage must feel dreadfully disheartened." Nor does Maimonides himself leave this severe verdict unqualified (*Mishna, Maccoth*). The spirit of Judaism, and especially of modern Judaism, decidedly repudiates a verdict of eternal doom.

I shall now proceed to point out the inadequacy and incompleteness of these creeds. While in formulating creeds the author may have been animated by the example of Maimonides, he was not actuated by the same principle which Schechter, seconding R. Saul, explains as being Maimonides' "only possible justification" (*The Dogmas of Judaism*), viz., the emphasis of those teachings mostly endangered at the time. If the Professor took the hint from Schechter's suggestion that "One could now . . . also propose some arti-

cles of faith which are suggested to us by the necessities of our own time" (*Ibid.*), he then failed to show a proper understanding of "the necessities of our own time," as questions of paramount importance to the Judaism of the present, are not at all touched upon in his creeds. For instance, there is now before this Conference, before American Israel, that momentous Sabbath question. Now, if the Professor assumes the competency to give reformed Judaism an efficient guide for its present religious needs, why does he not tell us how to consider the Sabbath, and what to do with it? In his first article God is called "The Creator . . . of the world." From this I should infer the belief in *Creatio ex nihilo*. I cannot see it that way; I do not understand left-handed theology. Creation does not mean development. "God, Creator of the world," means that He is the *prima causa* of the universe; to the confirmation of which view, Maimonides devoted several chapters in his *Guide*, and the belief in which principle he considers שנית ליסוד היחד "Second to the principle of Unity" (More, Vol. II, Ch. xiii). Yet the mere fact that the author calls God "Creator" is not sufficient to conclude that he holds the Sabbath to be a symbol of the creation, in which case a transference of the Sabbath would be untenable to any believing Jew, orthodox or reformed.

One of the most vital and troublesome question upon which depends the hold of religion on life and thought of our generation, and a belief regarding which in clear and strong language is expected from one who undertakes to formulate creeds, calculated to meet the necessities of our own time, is the question of moral conscience; whether moral sentiment is intuitive, or acquired; whether moral consciousness—duty, obligation, impulse, ideal longing, the verdict of *ought* and *must*—is indwelling, an ingredient part of man's nature placed there by the Creator of man to make it possible for man to sympathize with, and lift himself up to, the divine Spirit, or all this is the mere accidental outgrowth of external conditions, the result of arbitrary imposition of the world's approval and disapproval, man's submission thereto being entirely governed by the avoidance of pain, the promise of pleasure, and the expectance of happiness? According to the former view man's righteousness mirrors the spirit of Divine perfection, it is the voice of God in

the soul of man, and the reward for good lies in the knowledge that it is good; according to the latter view, as held by the Utilitarian school, the entire upbuilding of the human sentiment of right is based upon human selfishness, and the reward for good consists only in the tangible pleasure that results therefrom. The Professor is silent on this question, so important to the religion of our own time.

Nor does the author of the creeds offer anything on the question of ethics. He does not tell us whether reformed Judaism teaches utter renunciation of desire and passion, as taught by the Stoics, and borrowed by Christendom, or battling with the passions and striving for victory.

One who considers himself the man for the task to formulate creeds that would meet the religious necessities of the time, should state in unequivocal language his position on the freedom of the will, on the integrity of the Bible, on Revelation, knotty questions which are now agitating the mind of every one concerned in religion, and dealing with religious problems.

The most noticeable omission from the creeds, however, is any expression concerning the dogma of the incorporeality of God. The only term which might possibly be taken as suggestive of the spirituality of God, is the word "holy" in the first creed. But I have already shown that this attribute can in no sense be regarded as a metaphysical principle.

But I disagree from the Professor in the entire trend and viewpoint of his paper. I wish to show that, in the first place, Reform never meant a change of theology, and in the second place, any attempt to give reform a new theology would imperil the very foundation of Judaism. Judaism is a shifting religion; its dogmas and doctrines are capable of contraction and extension—they increase and decrease in number, and change places in importance, with the change of the needs and interests of life. In the *Guide*, Maimonides places the creed of *Creatio ex nihilo* second in importance, while in his creed it takes first place. Professor Lazarus explains away many questions with one passage. Says he: "The words of the Bible are interpreted by, and for, the fullness of life" (*The Ethics of Judaism*, Vol. I). Judaism only needs to-day master

minds who understand "the fullness of life," who can discern the forces which tend to the shaping of *that* life in order to interpret aright "the words of the Bible" and the aims of Judaism in harmony, not only with the manifest interests of life, but also with the hidden impulses which shape these interests. This is the task of reformed Judaism.

By "Reform" I understand the endeavor, by our enlightened and progressive leaders and followers, to harmonize Judaism with the thought and interests of the time, clarifying its doctrines, and casting off such elements of religious forms as are no longer adequate to the advancement of our spiritual and ethical life; and this is not new. This is the philosophy of all-time Judaism. This is what Judaism has done since its beginning. That reform has made changes in the Ritual, and discarded rites and beliefs for reason, either because they were founded on legends, or were found to have been adopted from foreign practices, or had become incompatible with the life of our time, does not justify the position that reform means a change of theology. The difference between orthodoxy and reform, I again emphasize, does *not* consist in theological aspects, that is, in principles and in sentiments, which are essential to the perpetuity of the distinctness of Judaism and of Jewish individuality. Orthodoxy and reform differ only in the extent in which cult, or ceremonialism, has control over practical life.

This is borne out by the utterances on record by many of our American leading reformers. In discussing "the new phase of Judaism" in an essay on "The Jewish Reformation in America" in *The Journal of Theology* (1902), the late Dr. Gustave Gottheil insists that "the word *new* in this connection is not to be understood in the sense of *recent* . . . but new it can be called in so far as it is a departure from the ceremonials . . . , of the old faith." I have here some excellent data from Dr. David Philipson's valuable article on "The Progress of the Jewish Reform Movement in the United States," published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (thanks to Dr. Margolis for directing my attention to this article), which strengthen my criticism. In the introduction to his historical exposition, Dr. Philipson says: "These men felt that the peculiar conditions of Jewish life in the Ghetto were responsible for the form that

religion had taken. They felt that the essentials of the faith should receive an expression in consonance with living needs." Here are some of the important passages quoted in Dr. Philipson's article: Dr. Einhorn: "Not that man will ever be able to dispense altogether with visible signs, but the expression and form of these must necessarily change with the different stages of culture, national custom, industrial, social, and civic conditions." Dr. Samuel Hirsch: "The need of the time is the highest law in Judaism." Dr. B. Felsenthal pleaded "to make the Service fruitful and intelligible by the use of a language understood by all." The seceders from Congregation Beth Elohim at Charleston, S. C., in 1824, did not ask for new creeds, but for a recital of the creeds in the vernacular, and for the abolition of such ceremonials as bear no application to the moral needs of the time (*Ibid.*). In his congratulatory letter to Prof. Schechter at his inauguration as president of the New York Theological Seminary, the late Dr. Mielziner, then acting president of the Hebrew Union College, said: "It is my sincere wish that the Seminary may prosper . . . for, though our ways and methods may differ in some respects, the aims and objects of both institutions are the same." In his address at the dedication of the New York Seminary building (April 26, 1903), Dr. Kohler, the President-elect of the Hebrew Union College said: "Judaism was at all times divided into two different schools. . . . In the essentials Judaism is one." The lectures and editorials of Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, the foremost reformer in the Jewish pulpit, abound in passages and utterances of the same tenor as those I have cited.

From what I have here quoted it is clearly shown that Reform does not ask for, and does not mean to sail under, a new theology. It does not intend to make a breach with the past, but, on the contrary, it endeavors to save the past from being crushed out of existence by the present, by adjusting the faith of the past to the conditions and influences of the present. And this philosophy of adjustment by German and American reform is not unprecedented in Israel. Hillel introduced a counter debt-cancellation law, because he saw that *וְאַת וְהַעֲמָנָנוּ הַעֲמָנָנוּ* the debt outlaw of the shemittah-year brought on a want of confidence, resulting in a standstill of commerce (Gittin 36b). Rabbi Gamaliel introduced

many changes מפני תיקון העולם "because conditions of the time demanded it" (*ibid.*, 33b).

Let me now show the danger of a new reformed theology. To permit our more liberal views of Judaism to garb itself with a new theology, or new "theological aspects," would be fatally weakening our tenacious stand throughout history against the doctrine that Judaism ever has undergone, or ever can undergo, a full and sudden transfer of theological conceptions. To this sort of movement may be attributed the founding of Christianity. Paul, originally wanting what our reform wants to-day, viz., to break away from Talmudic dialectics and binding ceremonialism, committed the fatal error of imagining that this could not be done without introducing a new name for his conception, and transferring Judaism to new divinities. His superabundant energy and exhaustless enthusiasm obscured his philosophical insight. Instead of discerning in his proposed reform a necessary offspring and logical development from the Mosaic Law, he saw in it an absolute extinction of the Mosaic Law, thus necessitating the cutting out from the stage of human salvation the whole period from Sinai to Calvary. What followed? A new theology, a new religion, a new sect, and, what was most disastrous, centuries of untold suffering to humanity.

Reformed Judaism must guard against any such errors. In trying to enlighten our people in the higher aims of life, in the broader scope of religion, and in the necessary harmony of the two, our reformers must be careful not to get away beyond the life and ideals of the people. Such a mistake would end either in a defeat of the object of reform, or in the reduction of reform to the position of a sect, it would be fatal either way. Reform must stand united with orthodoxy in the tenacious insistence upon the doctrine that there cannot, shall not, and must not, be a *תורה אחרת*, a new theology. Indeed, this is Israel's most charming historical phenomenon. While his whole career is one succession of stages of new ideas of what God required of man, these new ideas are never accentuated in such a tone as to make the creation of a schism possible. The prophets, the most radical reformers in Israel, whose preaching of God as the ideal of mercy and righteousness really meant the radical change from a tribal, or national, religion to a universal religion, never an-

nounced that they were preaching a new theology. They never even declared themselves reformers; they simply flung great ideas and conceptions upon the mind of the nation in the name of Israel's God, and left it to the genius of the people and the testimony of the future to establish their truth.

I emphasize, without fear of contradiction, that Jewish history does not admit any record of any *conscious* change in the theology of Judaism. Whenever conditions forced a change either in the conception of principles, or in the nature of ceremonies, that change came about *unconsciously*. Permit me to digress here for a moment. Before this session closes the Conference means to tell the world its position on the Sabbath. In a very able paper, one of the younger Rabbis argued that the Sabbath must go. But, Rabbis, if the Sabbath must go, if the Sabbath is not, as our greatest theologians and philosophers maintain it is (see Maimonides' letter to his son in *Igereth Maimuni*), a divinely instituted symbol of *Creatio ex nihilo*, if the Sabbath is not to remain eternally as the fundamental institution of Judaism, then it will go; but go it will, not because of an elaborate paper presented by a student, not because of resolutions passed by this or any other Conference; it will go *unconsciously through Israel's collective consciousness*. This may seem paradoxical, but humanity's greatest movements march in paradoxical lines. Coming back to our subject, Judaism is one grand revelation and revolution; each time as our inner life becomes riper for a higher revelation, our outward life asserts itself for a bolder revolution. In this rests the supremacy of Judaism—its being co-existent with life, its being collateral with all life's other vitalizing forces. The work of reform to fit Judaism to the new advances and expansions of life is, therefore, I insist, not a new creation of to-day, but the mere discernment of a fitness ever existent. In other words, reform Judaism, in all its changes and movements, does *not* mean to create a new theology, or present a distinctively reformed theological aspect, but it *simply infuses the Jewish ideal, as conceived at the present, into the theology long since there*.

But I wish to point out another serious objection to a significant statement embodied in a passage of this paper. In speaking of that of which reformation consists, the Professor says: "Its fundamen-

tal assertion is that . . . in us the true intent of the founders of Judaism . . . has at last become truly and absolutely real." In this the author clearly emphasizes the finality of reform, and, with it, the finality of Judaism, to which I do not believe the Conference will subscribe. I believe with Dr. Gottheil that "the Jewish reformation has at no time claimed to be final," and that "the movement is to remain a movement" (Essay, "Jewish Reformation in America" in *Journal of Theology*). I believe with Geiger that religion, and especially Judaism, "ist eine ewige, sich fortleitende Kraft, nicht ein Gebrechliches, das, bald zusammenstuerzend wiederum in anderer Weise auferbaut wird" (Das Judenthum und Seine Geschichte, 2). No school or generation, in orthodoxy or reform, ever claimed finality. This liberalism is distinctively Jewish. Jewish literature of all times breathes with the spirit of אֱלֹו וְאֶלְיוֹ דְבָרֵי אֱלֹהִים חַיִם. Each prophet though prophesying in a different strain, each scholar though holding a different view, each generation though adjusting its Judaism to different conditions, yet may be in the right as long as his prophecies, his views, and its adjustments are borne up by the Jewish spirit—by the one great idea of spiritual union. The condemning of a view for differing with that view is not Jewish. Judaism gives the thinker and scholar much more latitude. "Prophecy, as scholarship, has degrees," says Maimonides (*Yesode H'torah* vii, b). In the introduction to the *Yad Hachazakah*, this great theologian says, every command, given to Moses on Sinai, was given with a commentary (no positivism). I shall again quote Dr. Kohler that "Judaism was at all times divided into two different schools." When Rabbi Mayer's kin asked him why he disregarded the tithe law where "thy fathers and thy fathers' fathers considered it a violation," he answered מִקְומֵם הַנִּיחָוֹ לִי אֲכֹזֵת לְהַתְגִּידֵךְ כֹּו "My fathers left a place for me for the exercise of judgment" (*Chullin* 7a). This principle shines through the whole range of the Talmud. The whole Talmud is one rationalistic test of the Scriptures. And it encourages differences in judgment not only on matters applicable to practical life, but also in historical data, in textual interpretation, and in minor doctrines. The Rabbi who declared that "Job never existed" was not pronounced a sceptic (*Baba Bathra*, 15a). Rabbi Jose, who explained away two Bible

passages to make room for his opinion that "the **שכינה** never descended upon earth, nor did Moses and Elijah ascend to Heaven," was not declared a heretic. On the contrary, Maimonides makes it obligatory upon a scholar to differ from the accepted sense of a Bible passage and give it a more valid interpretation, if in his judgment the passage in the current sense can be refuted by proof. This passage of Maimonides is so remarkable that I quote from the More in full שיפורש כל מה שיחלוק על פשטו המורה יהחיב בהכרח שיש לו פרוש בהכרח (11, 25.)

All this goes to prove that Prof. Margolis' "fundamental assertion" as a "theological aspect of reformed Judaism" that Judaism in modern reform "has at last become truly and absolutely real," *fulfilled* and *final*, thereby shutting off the missionary field from succeeding generations, is against the sentiment of both orthodoxy and reform. In my opinion, dogmas, no matter how complete, do not limit Jewish theology, nor does the fulfillment of dogmas make final the Jewish mission. Maimonides, himself an author of dogmas, says: "The essential principle of faith is, that when one has fulfilled only one of the 613 commandments well and thoroughly, not prompted by any ulterior motives, but purely out of love for God, he will share in the bliss of the future" (last Mishna to Maccoth). Nor do I agree with the Professor that "without a creed we shall never be invulnerable." Judaism does not stand principally for creeds. It stands for an ever-strengthening testimony, and an ever-deepening conviction, of a moral purpose in history and of a divine conscience in humanity. Thus far, from the time of the prophets to the present, "*that day*" on which moral purpose and divine conscience in man will become final was the *ideal* of reformation, and I cannot but admire the Professor's optimism in telling us that in our reformation they have become "*real*."

I wish to point out in the paper one more fault, and a serious one. The author has given very little place to the philosophical aspect, an aspect so dominant in Jewish theology. Judaism is primarily a philosophical quality. It has its root in the impulses of the soul prompting it to investigate the first cause of the world, and the first source of morality. That this impulse is regarded in Jewish theology as the divine voice in the human soul, is itself a philosophical

view of faith, viz., the faith in revelation of a historical development, which gives Judaism a philosophical basis. The religion of Judaism is essentially a profession to explain the world without, and life within. To my mind both orthodoxy and reform hold the philosophical, the intellectual quality, to be dominant in religion, in that according to the Jewish way of thinking, religion seeks to ennoble human consciousness by working first upon the intellect. It does indeed speak to the heart, but this it does through knowledge; it rouses and elevates the heart through the keenness and clearness of reason. Jewish theology, therefore, deals less with the necessity, and more with the soundness, of religion, its basis being the oneness of the universe and life. Plato's morality "to imitate the Deity," is Jewish ethics; Max Muller's religion, "the perception of the Infinite," is Jewish philosophy; Portia's reward, "and therein do account myself well paid," is Jewish altruism: my heart only aches to see the Jew everywhere plagiarized and nowhere given credit.

Nor do we need to apologize for our theology for so closely bordering upon, and being interwoven with, philosophy. This is what made Judaism invulnerable against the onslaughts of Paganism, the persecutions of Christianity, and the antagonism of Rationalism. Judaism's philosophy was, and is, its sheltering rock. Let us see what shelter our philosophy affords our religion. The religious world is very much alarmed at the change of conception of the Old Testament, brought on by criticism and excavation. But the Jew need not be a bit alarmed. All criticisms and excavations cannot injure his Bible. If any part of it becomes incompatible with the latest discovered truth, philosophy helps to make it compatible. This is not the case with Christianity, because Christianity is not based on philosophy, on inquiry, and, therefore, cannot stand the test of inquiry. Christian scholasticism, which reached its height in the close of the thirteenth century, in the school of Thomas Aquinas, fell, because it could not stand a oneness of faith and reason. The OT. theophany admits of a philosophical interpretation, while the NT. christophany cannot be merged from the weave of mythology. We have learned nowadays to understand the meaning of progress somewhat differently from what it was under-

stood in the past to mean. Progress of civilization to-day does not stand merely for mechanical inventions, commercial expansions, and scientific discoveries, but it stands for a growth of self-moral discernment and self-spiritual apprehension in the individual. Now, what consequence is there to be apprehended in this sort of progress? In the Jew it will weaken his submission to the Rabbinical code; in the Christian, it will weaken his belief in apocalyptic fiction; and while Judaism can spare the Shulchan Aruch without any serious loss, Christianity cannot give up its Apocalypse without endangering the whole structure of its faith.

Yes, we must insist that Judaism is a philosophical religion, a religion, not of creeds, but of reason. Give Judaism a philosophy, a philosophy based on Jewish consciousness, Jewish ethics, Jewish spirit, Jewish individuality, and Judaism is invulnerable. The reason for the cry and fear now that Judaism is waning is not because of the differences between reform and orthodoxy in matters of ritual, but because of the differences in reform itself in regard to the moral and ethical bases. We have really no modern Jewish philosophy; that is, a philosophy that would expound the great abstract problems of our faith in consonance with the modern broadest understanding of life, and widest knowledge of the universe, on a purely Jewish basis. We have, it is true, many, too many perhaps, philosophical Jews, but we are much in need of Jewish philosophers. We hear mostly expounded from our pulpits Spencer's philosophy, Darwin's philosophy, Stuart Mill's philosophy, von Hartman's philosophy, but little of Jewish philosophy. This keeps our people spiritually dry, and intellectually hungry. Mere change of ritual, abolition of rites, display of eloquence, and all sorts of devices of a sensational character, will never make substantial food for the Jew. If such a religious diet is kept up much longer, the rabbis will find their congregations emaciated.

Here a field opens for the Conference. The Conference must declare what Judaism stands for philosophically. To my mind, Judaism stands for idealism, not for empiricism; it is opposed to empirical philosophy, inasmuch as cognition, according to Jewish thought, is derived from the inner constitution of the mind with the divine incentive as its background. Experience only serves to

direct the idea to practical realization, but the idea itself springs from our native conscience. Judaism protests against Kant's Reason that is merely a "subjective postulate" never to be realized, but teaches of a reason that is the guiding law of reality and has its basis in infinite reason—God. Judaism stands for the freedom of the will doctrine (see Hilchoth T'shubah vii), and protests against a life built up of nothing but necessity. Judaism stands for *הנוראה* Providence, and protests against Utilitarianism, against a morality of eudæmonism, against a religion that selfish desire determines our whole moral action; it emphasizes that there is outside of man a single guiding Power, that what is called human righteousness is the action of the dictates of the inner voice attuned to the promptings of love for that Power (*ibid.*, Melachim vii).

Let me say before closing: If the Conference has a mission, and wants to make that mission felt; if it wants to make every rabbi, especially the younger men, feel that he cannot afford to stay away from the Conference, it must make its burden the same as was the burden of all Israel's great schools and influences viz., the *fate* of Israel—of *all Israel*, the preservation of Israel's spiritual union. And in order to do that we must beware of losing touch with one another. The secret source of Israel's strength always was the fact that however widely dispersed, however widely they differed about minor matters, they never lost touch with one another in essentials, in matters that were considered essential to Jewish life, Jewish character, Jewish consciousness, Jewish destiny. And in my honest opinion, an official endorsement by this Conference of the existence of a "theological aspect of reformed Judaism" would lead to fatal results, as such an admittance would mean, or be interpreted as meaning, a division in Israel. It would give orthodoxy cause to suspect reform of secession. Let our cry be: *One Judaism, and one theology*. Let us keep on furthering the reform movement; let us continue our work of educating our people to a higher conception of Judaism and what Judaism requires of them, but let us do it without insisting upon the emphasis on "reform." Whatever reform is doing must breathe a spirit of union. Whatever questions and problems are brought before, and solved by, this Conference *must be questions and problems of Israel, not of reform Israel*.

A word to the author. Lessing, it seems, caught the real spirit of Judaism when he said: "If God, holding in one hand the whole truth, and searching after truth in the other, were to say to me, "Man, choose!" I would pray to him and reply, "The whole truth is not for me, I desire searching after truth." In the same spirit I say to the author of this paper: Professor, do not give us the *finality* of Judaism; do not try to persuade us that we have "*at last*" arrived at the *final* solution of all problems; do not force us to say that Reform has found the *whole* truth. Give us a chance; we, too, with our humble capacities, want to *search* after the truth.

(NOTE.—For want of time, as the discussion had already covered more time than the business of the Conference could spare, I did not touch at all upon the Synod proposition set forth in the paper, and, therefore, it does not seem fair to touch upon it now. Those to whom my views on the Synod proposition may be of any interest, I refer to my oration before the Grand Lodge District No. 4, I. O. B. B., in February, 1902, which may be obtained in pamphlet form from the Grand Secretary of the District.)

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

SOLOMON MUNK.

By PROFESSOR G. DEUTSCH.

Before entering upon my topic I have to define my understanding of the honorable task imposed upon me. We do not come together here as scholars in the strict technical sense of the word, discussing the minutiae of scientific research, bringing before the public some new discovery of a detail hitherto unknown or unsettled, but we convene for the sake of gaining mutual assistance in the larger questions of life, and of bringing home to our public such lessons as may be supposed to arouse and increase their interest in the spiritual aims and achievements of Judaism.

Had I not understood it in this sense, I could not have undertaken the task, first of all, because I do not possess the necessary knowledge of the Arabic language to do justice to the work of a man whose field of labor was the philosophic literature of the medieval Arabians and Arabic-writing Jews. Another great difficulty is that which is encountered by any one working in the field of Jewish literature in this country, it is that our library facilities are exceedingly limited, and I could not obtain either the philosophical dictionary or the encyclopedia to which Munk contributed his articles on Kabala and Jewish philosophy, or that volume of the Orient in which his famous discovery of the identity of Avicenna with Solomon Ibn Gabirol was first published. I considered it my duty to direct attention to this fact, so that perhaps my weak voice may help to arouse our public to the consciousness of the necessity of doing something to facilitate our scientific labors.

The great object of history, and notably of biography, is to show how the individual is connected with, and dependent on, his age and his environment. When we say that Solomon Munk was born May 14, 1803 (Geiger in Jued. Zeitschr., V. 2., gives according to the records of the congregation April 20, 1802, and Allgemeine

Zeitung des Judenthums, 1867, p. 155, May 14, 1805), at Glogau, in Silesia, studied in Berlin and in Bonn in the twenties, went to Paris in 1829, where he lived for the remainder of his life until February 6, 1867, we have already characterized the man to a certain extent. What we would add is merely a commentary to these facts.

Glogau is situated in Eastern Germany, on the border line of Poland. This is very significant. The Talmudic exclusiveness of the Polish Jews was here welded together with German culture. Just as an alkali and a salt, while they would remain in their present state forever if kept separate, when brought into contact produce a hissing sound until they have become amalgamated, so the Polish and the German spirits crash together at their first meeting, in order to find afterwards their proper level by a mutual understanding. Glogau, like most of the German congregations, had received its rabbis from Poland. Saul, the son of Rabbi Hoeschel, and the latter's son, Rabbi Loeb or Levin Saul, better known from his service in Amsterdam, and as the grandfather of Chief Rabbi Herschell, of London; Abraham Tiktin, and his son Solomon, both later on rabbis of Breslau, and so many others show the character of a community, whose intellectual leaders were educated in the school of such rabbis. It is hardly to be wondered at that the record of burials preserved in the ancient congregation contains under the year 1800 the notice, "Solomon, the infidel (*Eno Maamin*), was buried in the disgrace due to him."

Influences of the opposite kind were not wanting. At the end of the eighteenth century, raised under the influence of the above characterized Polish rabbis, were M. B. Friedenthal and Raphael Fuerstenthal, the former a rich merchant, the latter a poor author, but both were united in their aim to rescue Judaism from stagnation and to enable it to survive in a cultured society. Less known is Meier Eger, a merchant of Glogau, whose correspondence with David Friedlaender throws a mighty search-light upon the mental state of these Jews, who, wishing to preserve old Judaism intact, both in practice and belief, were forced to make concessions to the spirit of the new age. Details about Meier Eger are unknown. I presume, however, that he was a relative, if not a descendant, of Akiba Eger

the Elder, the grandfather of the more famous Rabbi of Posen by that name, who was Rabbi of Zuelz in Silesia before he went to Presburg, where after a short term of office he died in 1758. Such men, presenting the average type of the "Baalbos," are far more important in teaching us the spiritual tendency of the era than are the men of literary activity.

David Friedlaender is a bitter rationalist. Graetz, who called him Mendelssohn's ape, a "Flachkopf," and other bad names, proved by these biased expressions that he was unable to conceive a character in its historic setting. Friedlaender merely saw that the Judaism taught by his contemporaries whom he expressly mentions in this correspondence, by Ezekiel Landau, of Prague, by Raphael Kohen of Hamburg, by Meyer Simon Weyl of Berlin, could not survive in a cultured atmosphere; the appreciation of a phase of civilization which is passing away, as a historic necessity, cannot be expected, while it is still fighting for the place it has forfeited. We can behold with genuine interest, even with a feeling of romantic sadness, the ruins of old castles, but we ought not to wonder at our ancestors in the sixteenth century, when they considered them as a curse on civilization, which ought to be blotted out, the sooner the better.

Why wonder at David Friedlaender, who ridiculed the idea of Meier Eger, when the latter wished his grandson so to be educated at Berlin that he should continue his Talmudic studies and at the same time receive a secular education? He had not yet found that formula of harmonization between the old and the new which even Zunz, the son of a later era, the enthusiastic lover of the past, had not yet found in 1840, when, at the inauguration of the Jewish Normal School of Berlin, he thanked God with uplifted hands that the fetters of old rabbinism were broken.

The rabbi whom Zunz had in mind, when he spoke so, is Jacob Joseph Oettinger, then dean of the rabbinical college of Berlin, the same of whom legend reports that he said: Zunz may know what kind of snuff Rashi used, but I know what Rashi said. Jacob Joseph Oettinger was a native of Glogau, and he shows us the type of the generation that succeeded Abraham Tiktin. They were still in their religious views the true disciples of their teachers' protesting against the dropping of the medieval hymns from the liturgy with the proof

that according to Joseph Kolon, even the Messiah could not abolish the slightest religious custom, but in their views of social life and education they had become tolerant of the needs of modern times. Jacob Joseph Oettinger succeeded Meyer Simon Weyl in 1820; and with him went to Berlin Solomon Munk, the son of the Shamash of the congregation of Glogau, just as Mendelssohn, the son of the Dessau Sofer, had been attracted to Berlin by the removal to that city of his teacher, David Fraenkel. The occupation of the father requires a word of explanation. A Shamash is not a sexton or a beadle in the usual sense of the word, although he has to fulfil some of the duties of the latter. First of all, the Jewish congregations having so few offices in their gift, could not assist a poor Talmudist otherwise than by giving him such a position; further, the office of the Shamash was connected with that of the clerk of the congregation, who not only had to possess some knowledge of the rabbinical law, but—which was extremely rare in those days among the Jews—the knowledge of the vernacular of the country in order to represent the community in legal transactions with the political authorities. This has to be stated in order to avoid the impression that Solomon Munk came from the lowest strata of Jewish Society.

Time and environment show us Munk to be the son of an enlightened community which had already acquiesced in the fact that a Jewish child should receive a secular education while a previous generation was opposed to it, just as are now the pious contemporaries in Jerusalem and Tripoli. Regular schooling, however, was still very exceptional. Munk came to Berlin with a great deal of knowledge acquired in an autodidactic way, but unfit to enter even the lowest grade of the gymnasium, because of the unsystematic way of his training. The "Verein fuer Cultur und Wissenschaft des Judenthums" had been created just a year previously, and now its president, Eduard Gans, took an interest in Munk. Fortunately for the latter, Isaac M. Jost, the embodiment of system and method, interfered with Gans' phantastic plans, and through his influence Munk was admitted to the Secunda of the Gymnasium, and, making rapid progress, entered the university, where he heard the lectures of the famous philologists, among whom Boeckh occupied the foremost rank.

His professors won a high opinion of his abilities and of his character and recommended him to the minister of public education for a scholarship. It was the time when reaction, following the Vienna congress, was at its height. The only tangible concession which Prussia, in the edict of 1812, had made to the Jews in regard to positions under the state was their admission to professorships in the universities. But the law was a dead letter. When Gans, on the ground of this law, demanded that he be given the right to lecture on Roman law at the Berlin university, the king, contrary to the policy of the Prussian government, which rather nugated the law by interpretation than to break it (1822), repealed that section of the edict of 1812. Gans saw that the mountain would not come to him, so he went before the baptismal font, became soon professor, and a lion of society. Munk had similar opportunities, for his petition to the ministry was answered by the following brief note:

"The ministry informs you that it cannot feel inclined to furnish you the means for the continuation of your studies, as long as you profess the Mosaic religion."

Munk had to struggle like so many of his co-religionists who rose to prominence in the scientific field, until Michael Beer, the talented young poet, and brother of Meyerbeer, whose career was unfortunately ended by a premature death, came to his assistance. This generosity enabled him to continue his studies in Bonn under Freytag, and in Paris, where he was attracted by the fame of De Sacy.

Since 1829 Paris became his home. Under great difficulties he supported himself by private lessons, by contributions to the "Encyclopedie des gens du Monde," and to periodicals. Being very delicate in financial questions, he refused to accept a legacy bequeathed to him by Michael Beer, and from his scanty income he supported his aged mother. This delicacy of feeling, both in respect to his reluctance in receiving gifts and his tenderness in cheering up the last days of his aged mother, is typical of the Jewish character, and is a strong refutation of the malicious charge that the Jew is materialistic.

After a long struggle, Munk succeeded, in 1840, to obtain a position at the Paris library, whose great treasures of oriental manu-

scripts required a man of his learning. Soon after he had entered upon his position, a duty to his co-religionists called him away from his post. Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Cremieux went to the east to obtain from the Sultan justice for the unfortunate victims of the Damascus affair. Munk followed Cremieux as interpreter, just as Louis Loewe followed Montefiore. The result is known. It was at that time considered a great success to obtain from the Sultan a firman declaring that the Jews accused of having murdered the capuchin monk Tomaso were innocent. It has not prevented libelists of later ages from repeating the accusation. Sir Richard Burton has repeated it in his slanderous and superficial book, "The Jew, the gypsy and el Islam," and a professor of theology in Louisville has last year advertised his own ignorance by basing similar statements on the work of this ignorant libelist. Munk held himself in the background, so much even, that his family were surprised at the fact that the newspapers made no mention of his participation in the work of rescuing the victims of persecution. He was by nature a student, retiring and adverse to publicity, and Cremieux, the man of public life, was the last one to acknowledge publicly what he owed to his quiet co-worker.

Returning to Paris, Munk devoted himself to his studies. In 1846 he made the great discovery, which forever immortalized his name in the history of Jewish literature. Mediaeval Christian philosophers, and among them Duns Scotus, quoted frequently the works of an Arabic philosopher, called Avicebron or Avicebrol, whose theory of the unity of spirit and matter Duns adopted. The work of this supposed Arabic philosopher was only known in a Latin translation, under the title "Fons Vitae." Munk discovered a work of the philosopher Shemtob Falaquera, which is an abridged Hebrew translation of Solomon Ibn Gabirol's work, *Mekor Chajim*, and so proved the identity of Gabirol and Avicebrol. This discovery was far reaching. It proved that the Christian scholastics owed a great deal of their ideas to the work of a Jewish author, and, strange enough, just as the liberals in the church, represented by Duns, had followed in the footsteps of a Jewish author, so the orthodox, headed by Thomas of Aquin and Albertus Magnus, were influenced by another Jewish author, Moses Maimonides. This

little fact brought to light by the great scholar was a refutation of the statement of Ritter, in his history of philosophy, who denied to all Jews all originality in philosophic thoughts, for Avicebron's theory of the unity of spirit and matter was destined in its later presentation by another Jewish author, Benedict Spinoza, to become a cornerstone of modern philosophy.

The other great work which we owe to Solomon Munk is his publication of the Arabic text of Moses Maimonides' "Guide to the Perplexed," with a French translation and excellent notes. This work in itself would have secured him a lasting place, not only in Jewish history, but also amongst the world's leading scholars. The greater wonder is that he was able to accomplish it while a blind man, having lost his eyesight in 1851. Justice requires us to mention in this connection that the house of Rothschild furnished the means for the publication of this work, and now, that the world knows what importance attaches to this work, this occasion ought to be the means of bringing home to our people the lesson that the spiritual leaders of Judaism deserve better recognition than is accorded to them now, and that the science of Judaism is no less a method of disproving charges against the Jews than is the propagation of technical and agricultural labor. The declining years brought various honors to Solomon Munk. In 1858 he was made officer of the legion of honor, and in 1865 he became the successor of Ernest Renan as professor of Semitic languages at the College de France, after the latter had been discharged owing to the opposition which he had aroused in ecclesiastical circles by his life of Jesus. It is an interesting fact that a Jew, whose religion in itself was a denial of the divinity of Jesus, was more acceptable to the ecclesiastical authorities than the Christian, who openly denied the fundamental dogma of his religion. The Jewish community also honored its illustrious member, by making him secretary of the Central Consistory of France. Unfortunately he could not long enjoy the fruits of years of labor and privations. A stroke of apoplexy ended his useful life, February 6, 1867. His memory has been carefully recorded in the annals of Jewish history as a proof of the blissful results of the amalgamation of the Jewish heritage to the achievements of modern culture. A son of the east of Germany, he stands

foremost amongst the numerous representatives of Jewish literature, whose cradle stood in old Glogau rabbathi, as Gross Glogau was proudly called in Jewish literature, amongst Michael Sachs, Joseph Zedner, David and Paulus Cassel, Meier Wiener and his cousin, the great philologist, Eduard Munk.

MOSES MIELZINER.

By RABBI ISRAEL AARON.

About the goodly block of stone, upon which he would immortalize his genius, the sculptor builds an encompassing scaffold. Beam and girder of the encircling framework obscure the fine lines, and subtle tracery, as the artist bends to his work of conjuring soul from the silent, expressionless stone. To the beholder there is but an indistinct vision of the creation as it emerges and proceeds toward final beauty and full finish. Then comes a day when the satisfied workman demolishes the sight-confusing screen of the scaffold. Truss and stay fall to the earth, and the masterpiece stands forth, unobstructed, clear of outline, winning, commanding in its supremacy.

The mortal props that enabled the soul of Moses Mielziner to grow to full earthly stature have been brushed away by the master of the universe. Distinct, fine of line and proportion, there stands before us, freed from adumbrations of common concerns, a masterpiece of character—a life, perfectly blending knowledge and virtue, gentleness and force, humility and self-respect—a fine example of the child of dust, unfolded into the son of God. The time that has flown since his passing gives us a better perspective for viewing that saintly spirit, accentuated as it now is, by the sublime background of eternity; and our gaze loves to linger in the contemplation of a soul, so finely chiselled out by the fear of God and the love of learning.

It is but a feeble thing we have come here to do—to speak a few simple words in his memory. But faintly would fulsome eulogy express how that gentle scholar's inspiration abides in us and continues to bend our beings to its direction. We honored him for the

splendor of his attainments, we loved him because his heart was ours. Ah, how we loved him! How confidently we came to him in every emergency, for counsel! What trust we had in the inerrancy of his deliverances! Instinctively we felt that foreign to him was the pedant's supercilious attitude to the inquirer, but that he rejoiced that we displayed a desire for knowledge, and maintained our interest in the great literature he knew and loved so well.

So modest and retiring was he, in spite of his abilities and attainments, that only those who knew him intimately can venture to do justice to his eminent virtues, his profound scholarship and high principles. His career and his character form a striking comment upon much that passes for magnificent accomplishment to-day. Times and circumstances seem to compel many a one who loves the retirement of the student, to be spectacular and conspicuous; to build up influence by the power of departure and the magnetism of innovation. Some there are whose lives are spent in the lime-light, whose progress is mirrored in printer's ink, and whose commonplace utterances shine in the public prints. Yet not of these comes the enduring blessing. They are the flashes of light which illumine for a little while. But the industrious, plodding scholar; seeing clearly, because he worked faithfully; never heralding his thought, till he is sure of his message, and has adequately proven his premise—he shineth as the sun, and like the sun rises gradually to the zenith.

Such a scholar was Moses Mielziner. He was a modernized copy of the rabbi of old. He asked not for money, nor for fame. He begged for his books that he might dip ever deeper into the wells of learning. He craved but the privilege of teaching that he might freely give of what he had stored away. The greater part of his life he spent in two places—in his study and in the professor's chair.

Scientific in method, reverent in temper and broad of spirit, his experiences in class room and pulpit for two-thirds of his days seemed but a preparation for the great task of the evening of life. The fruits he garnered in the rabbinical and secular schools of Germany, in his labors in the little land of Denmark, and in the metropolis of America, he placed—an offering of enchanting fragrance—upon the altar at Cincinnati. In obeying the supreme tendency of

his being to spread the knowledge of the Divine Word, every hindrance, and difficulty dwindled into insignificance before him. Though fragile of frame, a Titan in spirit, the soul of Mielziner never swerved nor faltered in its determination to walk on the Great King's highway—to the divinely chosen goal. He seemed to have exemplified the strange assertion of Rabbi Jochanan: "The feet of man are pledged unto his path, unto the place which demands him thither will they bear him." (*Succah* 53^a.)

In the hearts of those of us who sat at his feet, the image of the kindly yet alert sage will remain lovingly enshrined. His was the teacher's true art. He taught as the flower sheds his fragrance, naturally, joyfully. No despot of the class room he; no autocrat, who loved to lord it over the learner. Gentle of voice, kind and encouraging in manner, his students loved him as a friend. In those anxious final months, when the gloomy forebodings of the end were plainly visible, and the shadow was settling deeper and deeper upon him, no drug could medicine his racked body as efficiently as the pleasure of teaching his students, and one of the greatest joys of his simple life was when, after leaving college, they offered him some mark of affection or consideration.

The life principles of Mielziner had roots—deep ones. Nothing could move them. His manhood, his exalted aims, the imposing majesty of his character, were perceptible in everything he did, and wherever he was. Especially where the qualities of completeness and accuracy, which marked the man, reflected in his writings. With him the foundation-stone was the prophecy of a complete and symmetric structure. No details were too tiny for consideration. His published works are monographic. Their perusal leaves one with the impression that all has been said on the subject. No one ever had a more exalted conception of the responsibility of the writer. He contributed to literature because he had something to give men. He produced books, not for the fame of authorship, but because their contents were of value. The high standard he set for himself is apparent in the treatise on Slavery, the production of his young-manhood, in the Jewish law of Marriage and Divorce, written as middle age was ending, and in the Introduction to the Talmud, which came from his pen when his days were waning to the close.

In recalling the fine personality of Moses Mielziner, the memory of the revered Master must inevitably companion it. The relationship between Wise and Mielziner was ideal. Each admired what was great in the other; and at the grave of the great leader, the grief of none exceeded that of his venerable colleague and friend, the professor of Talmud at the College.

Perhaps nothing so blesses those who knew this man, as the memory of his great purity. Never was there a man freer from the passions, longings and desires and vices which degrade. The atmosphere in which he lived was that of the highest ethical altitudes. Gentle, mild, modest, retiring, though he was, he was a very rock in principle; clear, at one with himself in conviction.

The famed heroes of nations are their warriors, their potentates and poets. Israel has ever honored itself, in honoring its teachers. "The reverence of teacher shall be like unto the reverence of Heaven." And in the long list in the Golden Book of great souls, the name of Moses Mielziner will shine conspicuously.

In explaining the words "And they showed him honor in his death," referring to Hezekiah, an ancient rabbinical interpretation runs: "They established a house of learning upon his grave."

So let Mielziner be honored—by the establishment of his work—by devotion to the learning he loved. Let him be honored in this, that his memory may stimulate all who knew him so to work that knowledge may flower into righteousness, and truth into the gentleness of love, and the power of character.

DR. MOSES MIELZINER.

By RABBI CHARLES S. LEVI.

We eulogize a teacher and a man of God whose life was a prophecy of the beauty of true religion.

The righteous need no monument; their works and character are their most fitting monuments. The righteous, though dead still live; in the hearts of their fellow-men are they immortally enshrined. "The loss of the righteous is a loss to his whole generation."

"May my soul die the death of the righteous and my end be as theirs." These reflections of religious truths are occasioned by the death of a master in Israel, who was called to his eternal reward February 19, 1903.

Looking out on the great ocean we sometimes see in the midst of troubled waves one sheet of water which is smooth and quiet, reflecting the heavenly blue and giving the impression of calm and depth. We cannot explain how in the surrounding turmoil just this one spot can preserve a tranquillity, which agitation and restlessness seem powerless to disturb. Likewise on the troubled sea of humanity it occasionally happens that we meet amidst the increasing hurry and pushing activity of his struggling surroundings a man, who impresses us like a calm, deep water, a man of whom we at once feel that, although he dwells in our eager every-day world, yet the sphere and foundations of his real life lie far from us. He stands apart from the crowd like a direct heir of former ages who has widened his own personality to the extent, that to him Past is like Present, who sees far ahead into the Future, discerning thoughts that to others are hidden, finding an explanation and consolation for present imperfections in the distant vision of the final righting of things. God's in his world and things are right on his earth.

Such a man was Moses Mielziner of sainted memory. In the midst of the storm and stress of the ages he grew up; amid the revolutions of governments, the reformations of religions and evolutions of 19th century thoughts he ripened into manhood. Yet so gracious, so virtuous, so scholarly, so wise and well proportioned was our brother, that he seemed the finished product of the most humane influences of all the ages. When Moses Mielziner fell in the battle of life men wept, but the angels rejoiced at the homecoming of a "Prince of Peace"; Israel mourned for the loving character that was a type of true saintliness, but "precious in the sight of God was the death of his pious child."

When the Acting President of the Hebrew Union College entered the "academy on high," his students, now the leaders of the largest Reform Congregations in America, paused with one accord to exclaim, "Our Teacher has answered the summons of the blessed Judge of Truth." What a beautiful life he lived! What a useful career

he rounded out! What a sacred inheritance he bequeathed to his family and posterity! What a sublime illustration of philosophic contentment, intellectual calm and religious peace was he who as a Jew advanced Israel's Mission of Peace and as תָּלִימֵד חֲכָם, a "disciple of the wise spread the spirit of 'Peace with Honor' in the world." To all the spiritual crowns of life he added new lustre. The gentler virtues of peace, modesty, humility and sympathy became him like a crown of priesthood; reputation and character were the diadem of his good name; religion and learning he wore like a coronet of divine truth; while justice and righteousness, innate integrity and courageous devotion to his God and fellow-man were the shining jewels of royal power that crowned his Jewish life. He touched the heights and depths of living true to God and man.

Like the immortal lawgiver, he was faithful in all his duties in the household of life, making men believe in God and in Moses, His minister. Such, in brief, was Dr. Mielziner, the man, the father and husband, the brother and son, the child of God and heir to immortality.

He was born in the province of Posen, August 12, 1828, when the nations of Europe were recovering from the awful earthquake of governments which Napoleon had precipitated, when the culture due to the influence of Mendelssohn had awakened the scientific masters of Judaism and produced the Jewish Renaissance and Reformation. Born into a family whose influences were thoroughly Jewish, he early imbibed from his father, who was a Rabbi, that love of learning which destined him for the profession of Rabbi and Teacher, and marked him with such pre-eminence in later life.

Entering the public and religious schools of his native town Shubin, he continued with remarkable aptness under the instruction of his teacher, Mr. Braunhart, who at 97 years, in full possession of his mental faculties, mourns with us the death of his distinguished pupil. After the death of his mother, from whom he inherited his saintly virtues, Dr. Mielziner left his beautiful religious home and took up his talmudic studies in the town of Exin, under Hirsch Klausner, renowned for his thoroughness in that branch, and being thrown upon his own resources, continued his secular studies without any teacher. But his mind was hungry for

exact knowledge in all its branches, his genuine Jewish spirit thirsted for the knowledge of all the literatures of Jewish learning and of modern culture as well. After a few years of travel in the smaller towns of Posen, where he sought the inspiration of renowned teachers, he entered the Gymnasium of Berlin, and in the Prussian capital were molded those outlines of scholarship, character and exalted achievement which beautified his entire future life.

The political agitations of Europe had their storm-center in Berlin; the religious emancipation struggle found its greatest champions in Berlin, Breslau and Hamburg. Dr. Mielziner lived his youth in the very home of culture, reform and the growing spirit of freedom. But his peaceful nature shrank from becoming a leader in the strife, and so in 1852, at the age of 24, through the influence of those giant champions of reform, Holdheim, Einhorn and Bernstein, he became preacher and teacher in Waren, where the struggle for religious emancipation was not favored by the government, which was embittered by the revolution of 1848, and frowned upon all religious innovations as revolutionary.

Holding office for two years, during which he endeared himself to the congregation and the orthodox Chief Rabbi Luepschuetz, the young preacher left the agitated country of Mecklenburg-Schwerin for the peaceful land of Denmark, where, after a brief sojourn, he mastered the Danish language, held office in Randers and was finally called to the capital, Copenhagen, to become principal of a religious school, whose students were prepared for the University and the Theological Seminary. Prof. David Simonson, up to a few months ago Chief Rabbi of Copenhagen, was one of his numerous disciples.

When the battles of reform broke out in Denmark, the liberal element desired Dr. Mielziner to lead them, but he to whom religion meant, "loving peace, pursuing peace and leading men to the Torah in peace," welcomed the opportunity to take charge of what was then the leading conservative congregation in America, Temple Anshe Chesed of New York, of which he became the learned spiritual guide until it was absorbed in what is now the Beth-El Congregation, whose present rabbi, Dr. K. Kohler, has just been elected the successor of Drs. Wise and Mielziner, as president of the Hebrew Union College.

In Copenhagen, Dr. Mielziner showed conclusively his ripe scholarship and his love for the profession of teacher. In 1859, he published his now classical work on "Slavery amongst the Ancient Hebrews," which was his thesis for the Doctor degree given him with honor by the University of Giessen.

Many were the loving tributes paid the modest Doctor upon his departure for America, which was to become the home of his true greatness as a scholar, rabbi and professor. His edition of a Jewish almanac in Danish, his writings for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the leading Jewish journal of Germany, and for the *Ben Chananjah*, the literary organ of Leopold Loew, had already secured for him the title of rabbi, which meant distinction in that Hebrew scholarship that made him renowned as the Professor of Talmud and Rabbinical Literature of the Hebrew Union College.

Dr. Mielziner remained in New York City from 1865 to 1879, winning golden laurels, attending to the arduous duties of rabbi, which taxed his physical constitution to the utmost. During the last four years of his sojourn in New York, he conducted a collegiate school for boys with signal success.

The year 1873 was the most momentous one in the history of American Israel. Then the Union of American Jewish Congregations was formed, whose object was to Americanize Jewish Congregations by educating rabbis in America. Two years later, in 1875, the Hebrew Union College, under the presidency of the greatest American Jew, Dr. I. M. Wise, was founded, to carry out the purpose of the Union. In 1879, all doubts as to the ability of educating American young men in the ancient studies of the Talmud and Midrash and Patristic Literatures were solved by the election of Dr. M. Mielziner, as Professor of Talmud and Rabbinical Literature. From the advent of the new teacher, who made the study of Talmud a scientific discipline and invented methods of instruction in accord with sound logic and exact reasoning, the reputation of the College for rabbinical scholarship was beyond peradventure. With a faculty consisting of Drs. Wise and Lilienthal, Professors Mielziner, Eppinger and Aufrecht, the College slowly but surely educated its pupils, who to-day are the leaders of American Reform Judaism.

Whatever battles reform had to wage before it attained its present estate of honor; whatever experiments our young school of theology had to make in formulating the true methods of translating, for the first time, the spirit and the meaning of our classic literatures of Bible, Talmud, Midrash and Commentary, for the future American rabbis, with such splendid leaders of reform as Drs. Wise and Lilienthal, and such an acknowledged master of Jewish lore as Professor Mielziner, the work could not fail and the triumph over all obstacles was bound to follow.

While Dr. Wise was publishing in English, text-books of Jewish Theology, of Jewish History and Literature, Dr. Mielziner was laboriously working out his lectures on Jewish Marriage and Divorce, on Hermeneutics and Legal Maxims of the Talmud, being those masterly lectures on Talmudic Law and Ancient Jewish Life, which were finally published in those classics of American Jewish literature, known as "Jewish Marriage and Divorce," and the "Introduction to the Talmud."

Let me now perform the loving privilege of paying a tribute to Moses Mielziner, the teacher and man as I knew him in the school-room, in the faculty and in private life.

If his career as rabbi showed his sound Jewish spirit and his philosophical grasp of religion, the preaching of his private life showed the beauty of the true sermon, that combines knowledge and character, precept and example, power of expression with the living eloquence of a righteous life. If in public life he was characterized as a man possessed of the moral attributes of a *רְאֵן*, the virtues of his private life revealed what Maimonides calls that "quality of saintliness" which made him the true teacher of men. With composure born of the mastery of the secrets of the Torah, with a calmness and gentleness that sprang from his love of his disciples, with words few and method clear that betokened the fullness of thought in his richly endowed mind, he led his admiring pupils through the stormy sea of Talmudic cross-currents into the safe harbor of Judaism. His love for the Talmud and kindred literature kindled a responsive spark in the hearts of his hearers. Let me illustrate.

Be it said that the Talmud is the national library of Jewish thought, of scholarship, of civil, criminal, religious and moral law,

as developed in the schools by the most eminent scholars and their disciples during a period of 800 years, from 300 B. C. E. to 500 A. C. E. It is the record of the civilization of those centuries mingling history, Bible, myth and legend, science and religion, folklore and scholarship, as brought out in debate and discussion on the doctrines, statutes, judgments and ordinances of the Bible with the view to harmonize Jewish life with and secure the sanction of the Jewish authorities for the civilizations of those eight centuries. Underlying and overarching all thought are the essential principles of Judaism, whose roots shall sink deep into the national Jewish consciousness that forms the sap of the moral and religious trees of life with their branches of new growth on the sturdy trunk of Faith. To breathe new life into this complex panoramic literature now 1500 years old, to introduce method, system, order and scientific understanding into the chaotic collection of the Jewish thought-world, above which hovers the spirit of God, to blaze a path through the talmudic wilderness of wisdom's buried treasures, and then to harmonize the myriad-minded sages of ancient truths with the latest wisdom of the 20th century civilization, required that matchless, well-stored, painstaking and richly endowed mind of which Dr. Mielziner was the most brilliant example in the Jewish theological schools of America. Literally this great teacher resurrected the dead past into the living present and united the hearts of the children of the 20th century with the hearts of their spiritual fathers in hoary antiquity.

Yet, with all this, Professor Mielziner was so modern, so filled with the pulsating spirit of the latest religious thought, so alive to the requirements of the American Jewish Scholar. For him there was an American Judaism whose demands could not be ignored. Jewish ideals expressed in living symbolism, æsthetic ceremonialism, inspiring ritualism through beautiful simplicity, were its characteristics. How reverently he would unwrap the ceremonial foldings, the ritual coverings in which the centuries preserved the jeweled truths of religion, and hold up to the eager minds of his admiring and loyal students the glittering idea of revealed religion. How the light of intelligence, fed by his love of truth, streamed from his enhaloed brow when he showed that true reform was only

opening the casket of religion that contained priceless treasures of truth hidden by the growth of ages. And when he struck the native truth, then his reverent soul cried, "Halt! Approach no nearer, build on this foundation, stanch and true, the new temples of true Judaism, and you make the old ever living, ever young, and the new ever faithful, always true."

Thus did Professor Mielziner give new charm to the old religion of Moses. When mind is so close to the heart, when truth is so inlaid in soul, when reverence is so wedded to intellect, then the heart of the student takes fire and the glow thereof refines in the crucible of religion, the crudest mixtures of golden truth.

Then, "the words of the wise are heard with pleasure."

In the relation of professor to student, there entered also a charm of personality, a native sense of humor, a democratic spirit, a lack of superior pretense that reminded one of the great teacher Hillel, of which it was said, "His modesty was evidence of his true greatness, his greatness was known by his modesty."

What was true of him as a teacher was characteristic of him as man in all his relations of life. His home was a true sanctuary, where wife and children encircled him with love and holy affection. His friendship was as true as his handshake genuine. He never spoke an unkind word of any child of God. In the success of his pupils he found greatest delight. The greater the scholar the greater his admiration. He was free from envy and jealousy. A characteristic message was that which he sent with congratulations to the New York Theological Seminary, which the East thinks a worthy rival of the "Hebrew Union College," "We shall always rejoice in the success and prosperity of the Seminary, viewing without jealousy its progress and growth, for though our methods of religion differ, yet we both exist for the preservation of Jewish learning and the upholding of the Jewish religion."

In Dr. Mielziner were combined true learning and true character. He was truly a gentleman and a scholar, whom it was a proud privilege to have known. He died without an enemy. He had reached the zenith of his greatness. At the hour of his death he was Acting President of the College, Honorary President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vice President of the

Hebrew Sabbath School Union of America, and Professor of Talmud and Rabbinical Literature. The Torah is in mourning, for her greatest teacher in America is no more. Israel in his sanctuaries laments, for a worthy minister of man and servant of God has ended his labor of love. Wisdom, truth and love, holiness and righteousness, have lost their most sublime illustration. And yet we thank God, and in strength of faith, such as our loved one inspired, say, "The righteous live in their undying works." They need no other monuments, they have builded for eternity. They that were wise and instructed teachers shall shine perpetually as the very stars of heaven.

We thank God for the blessing of the life of Dr. Mielziner, who enriched Judaism with his valuable works, inspired and ripened teachers by his erudite scholarship, honored American Israel by his greatness, added to the sum of human happiness by his religious life, and blessed his family and his generation by his holy character.

The scholar and thinker, the author and teacher, the friend of God and lover of man, has died the noble death of the righteous. Well may we say with the poet, "His life was gentle, and the elements of goodness so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'This Was A Man.'"

EULOGY ON REV. DR. BENJAMIN SZOLD.

By RABBI WILLIAM ROSENAU.

Mr. President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

If, as the ancient rabbis say, חכם שמת הכל כקרוביו the death of a sage is everybody's loss (Sab. 105 b.), the teachers in Israel certainly suffer sore bereavement whenever one of their more noted colleagues is summoned to his eternal reward. No class of persons can well afford to lose models worthy of emulation. The recognition of specific purpose and duty is sense cultivated by the presence of men of "light and leading." Though dead, the departed paragon's influence, however, need not pass away. By memory's benign aid, the erstwhile telling influence may in part at least abide, and as it

does, prove fitting tribute to the dead. In order to discharge such a twofold sacred service, I crave your attention to the study of a life brought to a close since last we met.

When, on July 31, 1902 (Tamuz 26, 5662), Benjamin Szold closed his eyes in eternal sleep, a soul winged itself into the boundless beyond, that may be accorded rank among the נדולים בישראל Israel's worthies in his generation. Judaism is indeed the poorer because of his demise. He was one of those, the rich harvest of whose wise sowing we now enjoy. Coming to this country in 1859, at the age of thirty, he found our holy cause in a crude and unorganized state. His, therefore, became the duty, as it did of all the pioneers לנתוש ולנתז “to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.” (Jer. 1, 10.) For a third of a century he steadily lent hand and heart and mind to the pursuit of Israel's aims, and, during the final decade of his earthly pilgrimage, he enjoyed that rest from toil, to which his former constant activity entitled him; not, however, ceasing to exercise inspiration and power.

Only a few of us were so fortunate as to be personally acquainted with him. On account of his ill health we were denied his valuable cooperation at the meetings of this Conference, of which he was a deservedly honorary member. To have known him was not only an infinite pleasure, but also a precious privilege. I welcome the opportunity of being able to testify to the appreciation of the good fortune which was mine, in having been associated with him for nearly ten years, and of having been in a position to frequently avail myself of his wise counsel.

I can never think of the typical teacher, needed in Israel to-day, without conjuring up his personality. In him were beautifully blended the spirit of the past and that of modern times. He was the product of Yeshibah instruction and university training. I feel that I do not exaggerate his worth when I assert he was חכם עדיף מנביא “sage who stood higher than prophet.” (B. B. 12, a.) I am not unconscious of the wealth of meaning marking the title חכם “sage.” I know that it presupposes unusual qualifications both native and acquired. In applying it, therefore, to Benjamin Szold, I do so advisedly—advisedly because I believe I knew the departed's every characteristic.

If the **חכם** the sage, is thought of as the master of Jewish lore, then Benjamin Szold is to be considered such a sage. He was at home in the extensive realm of Israel's literature. No one ever knew the Bible better than did he. No one ever had a better grasp of its earlier and later rabbinical commentaries. His book of Job, on which he, at the time of its publication, was congratulated, and because of which he, at the time of his death, was eulogized by those in position to pass judgment on its merits, bears testimony to the thoroughness of his Jewish scholarship. His unpublished manuscripts on the Massora and on "Jewish poetry," written by him only shortly before his death, shall, when they are given to the student, give further evidence of his enviable erudition. So active and exact was his mind, even in old age, that a few hours before the end came, he spent the morning in Biblical and Talmudical discussions, quoting from memory.

If the **חכם** the sage, is thought of as possessor of a versatility of knowledge, then Benjamin Szold is also to be regarded such a sage. He did not confine his interest to Jewish lore, although known as a specialist in that domain. His sympathies were broad and all-embracing. He was informed on subjects which the Jewish specialist is not expected to know. It was for this reason perhaps more than any other that his house became the frequent meeting place for men representing the languages, the sciences and the arts.

If the **חכם** the sage, is thought of as the student of human nature, then Benjamin Szold is also to be accounted such a sage. He certainly knew men, and knowing them as he did succeeded where others failed. While unflinching in principle, he did not evince that determination, more justly termed obstinacy, which is offspring of impetuosity. He was tactful because calm. For the common good he deemed it advisable to take men as they are rather than as he would have them be. He firmly believed: **על-פי יהוה יתנו ועל-פי הוה יסעו** Progress is ever regulated by God's will (Numb. 9, 23).

To this many-sidedness of his knowledge must be traced his power as preacher. Whatever else the merit of his pulpit discourses may have been, they were thoroughly Jewish in character. They were elaborations of Biblical texts interspersed with Talmudical sayings and Midrashic allegories, and were thus calculated to appeal not only to the ethical sense, but also to the Jewish consciousness.

The many-sidedness of his knowledge gave also to his theology a fixed color. He was conservative and still broad. What I mean by this seemingly paradoxical statement is indicated in his ritual "Abodath Yisroel." It reflects Jewish ideals as modified by Israel's changed environment and needs. Among the supporters of the seventh day Sabbath there exists no more zealous champion than was he. He regarded it indispensable for the fulfillment of Israels' mission. He had Zionist sympathies, but not Zionist convictions. With him Palestine did not enter as factor into the equation of Israel's destiny. He believed in making for the spiritual Zion realized in the ultimate victory of the Jew's message—one God and one humanity.

In the history of Baltimore Jewry he was of all ministers, beyond question, the most striking personality. His thought determined the position not only of his own congregation, but also to a great extent the position of sister congregations. If Baltimore is proverbially conservative he did a great deal to make it so.

Nor was his prestige confined to his own city. It extended beyond the boundaries of his community. Although neither the editor of a journal called into existence for the dissemination of his message, nor the ingenious inventor of an extensively advertised communal institution, his worth was nevertheless appreciated. The frequency with which he was consulted on matters Jewish by men in all stations, the adoption of his ritual in many synagogues throughout America, and the calls he received in earlier days to pulpits in Philadelphia and Chicago, are certainly proofs of his far-reaching influence.

Thus far I have spoken merely of his intellectual accomplishments and consequent authority. What now of Benjamin Szold the man? Without fear of exaggeration it may be said, that Benjamin Szold cultivated at all times those godly virtues without which learning, howsoever great, lacks consecration. He was the preacher who in life exemplified the lessons he taught. Genial in disposition he received all *בָּסְכַּר פָּנִים יִפְתֹּח* with uniform affability. He indulged neither in patronization nor in dazzling with his scholarship. The most illiterate felt at home in his presence. He was the veritable personification of meekness. At times he was almost

childlike in his modesty. He was not aware of the halo of greatness which encircled his brow. (Ex. 34, 29.)

He was a man of peace. He never condemned others for not believing as he did. His motto was אל תזרן את חבירך עד שתגניע למקומו One has no right to judge another without understanding his environment (Aboth 2, 4). And although desirous to cultivate peace, he knew how to wage war when attacked. When upon coming to this country, Einhorn, who at that time was rabbi in Baltimore, ridiculed him, he proved himself a combatant worthy of Einhorn's steel. When the apostate Meyer unjustly charged him with having informed, by anonymous letter, the Har Sinai congregation, of Meyer's conversion at Glasgow to Christianity, which Meyer declared base slander, Szold entered the arena to establish the guilt of his accuser.

It was only when injustice was perpetrated that he threw down the gauntlet to others. The incurring of unpopularity did not intimidate him. An illustration in point is the following occurrence. When an institution built by the individual contributions of all the people was opened for inspection, he found the inscription on its walls giving the impression that the institution was made possible through the munificence of its largest donor. The following Sabbath, Szold ascended his pulpit and, taking for his text הוּא רֹב הַנִּזְלָה כִּי רֹב הַוָּא (Prov. 22, 22), succeeded by his protest in having the error and injustice rectified.

Benjamin Szold could have declared with perfect justice בשרתי צדקה “I have preached righteousness in the great congregation; behold I have not restrained my lips.” (Ps. 40, 9.)

Adorned with the fourfold crown, the crown of learning, the crown of royalty, the crown of priesthood, and the crown of a good name, he was indeed שׁר אֱלֹהִים “a prince of God,” נגיד בשם טוב ונפטר “great in the enjoyment of a good name not merely for a limited time, but throughout his entire life.” (Berach 17, a.)

May his pilgrimage on earth be counted to him for righteousness. May his example spur all of us on to emulation. In having become known now to many of the members of this Conference who were not acquainted with him while on earth, Benjamin Szold has de-

“נְדוּלִים צָדִיקִים בְּמִתְהָם יוֹתֵר מִבְּחִיָּהֶם” the righteous who become greater in death than they were in life.” (Hul. 7, 6.)

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

SYNOPSIS.

EULOGY ON DR. GUSTAVE GOTTHEIL.

By RABBI I. S. MOSES.

In the absence of Dr. De Sola Mendes I have been commissioned to say a word in remembrance of a dear colleague who has completed his earthly task and has been laid to rest on the 19th of April last—The Rev. Dr. Gustave Gottheil.

Dr. Gottheil belonged to a class of rabbis becoming rarer and rarer in the Jewish ministry of America. His training was that of the old Talmudic school superadded by modern education. He was equally the product of the Yeshiba as of the German University. Yet the great worth of Dr. Gottheil lay neither in the contributions which he made to Hebrew lore, or modern philosophy or philology, but in his great personality. He left no monumental works on Jewish science; he did not shape the character of Jewish theology, but he exerted a personal influence upon those under his ministration such as only the truly great souls can exercise. He impressed all who came in contact with him with the masterfulness and resourcefulness of mind. He was, as Dr. Kohler has aptly emphasized at the bier of the slumbering friend, the חֲכָם par excellence, among the rabbis, the wise, thoughtful, circumspect and dignified leader. For, as a shepherd of his flock he united the members of that noble congregation in one common feeling of love and respect for their beloved pastor and for the great truth which he taught them to revere.

He was pre-eminently a priest, a disciple of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace not only among those under his immediate charge and within the household of Israel, but especially was he a messenger of peace to the representatives of other creeds and churches. His dignified yet amiable manner made him the welcome and respected spokesman of Jew and Judaism whenever and

wherever an official word needed speaking. In the numerous representative gatherings of the eminences of the great metropolis he was sure to be present. And well did he know how to uphold the dignity of the people whom he represented.

It was this pastoral quality in his nature which impelled him to enlist the energies of the women of his congregation in the work of practical charity. And thus he became the founder of that blessed, many-branched organization: The sisterhood of personal service, whose members are doing such excellent work in New York charities.

His was not a philosophic but an introspective mind. He felt the nearer needs of the soul. This made him a diligent and skilful laborer in the field of Jewish liturgy and hymnology. The Union Prayer-Book is indebted to his genius for some of the finest, most soulful prayers, and the Union hymnal for a number of original poems of no slight merit, as well as for the splendid English translations of some of the gems of Hebrew religious poetry. His dictation, both in the pulpit as well as an essayist in magazines, was always clear and chaste, his themes were those of practical piety, his language expressive of deep and sound religiousness. He was indeed a seeker after God, outpouring his soul in prayer and hymn, and in deeds of love and charity.

Let us not repeat the oft-used phrase of "the great loss Israel has sustained by his death." He has lived a long, useful and successful life. Dr. Gottheil has been, during the many years of his activity, a fine type of rabbinic virtue, combining to a rare degree the spirit of traditional Judaism with the fervor for the honor of modern Israel and modern Jewish thought; official dignity with genuine kindness of heart; love for the land and the people of America, and a passionate enthusiasm for the character and destiny of the dispersed members of the Jewish nation. His intensely religious soul could harbor the two antagonistic concepts: Reform Judaism and Political Zionism. Upon his fresh grave we lay a wreath of honor and gratitude. One of the great leaders of Israel has joined the shining host of the immortals.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF RABBI E. K.
FISCHER.

It has been the fortune and merit of some men to be pioneers in the great movement for the regeneration and modernization of our Judaism. Others have performed the no less meritorious work of following in the footsteps of the former, and of spreading through their earnest labors and enthusiastic zeal the principles enunciated by the great leaders. One of this latter class was Rabbi E. K. Fischer, whose memory we desire fittingly to honor this evening. In recognition of the sterling character and strong yet modest personality of this departed teacher in Israel, I wish to present, as a tribute of affection, these resolutions for the consideration of the Conference.

WHEREAS, There has passed away during this year a good and faithful member of our Conference, Rabbi E. K. Fischer, late of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and,

WHEREAS, We recognized in Rabbi Fischer a faithful and high-minded leader who devoted himself to the honorable work of spreading the truths of Judaism.

Be it Resolved, That the Conference of American Rabbis hereby expresses sincere grief at the demise of Rabbi Fischer, and,

Be it further Resolved, That the Conference send a message of condolence to the family of the lamented rabbi, and that these Resolutions be inscribed upon the minutes of the Conference of American Rabbis and be printed in the Year-Book for 1903.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO MANNHEIMER.

JUDAISM'S PERPLEXITIES.

CONFERENCE LECTURE BEFORE THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMÉRICAN RABBIS.

By RABBI TOBIAS SCHANFARBER.

The Jew is the world's classic, historic anomaly. Judaism is religion's recurrent, ever present protestant. The child of every age and clime, Judaism has dipped into the waters of every civilization, but has always succeeded in maintaining its bodily and mental equipoise, so as not to be submerged by them. Scattered amid foreign environments, it has never lost its distinctiveness, though many sought to rob it of its crown of distinction. As the Gulf Stream flows through the vast ocean, but does not mingle with its waters, so has Judaism flowed through the vast ocean of humanity, but has never been lost in the larger body. Obedient to the behest of its sages, Judaism has always accepted what it considered the truth, from whatever source it came. Babylonia has contributed to the thought currents of Judaism; Greece has not been without its influence on its thought; Moses Maimonides sought to reconcile Judaism with Arabic Aristotelianism; occidental civilization has colored its life and conception of things; Cabalism and Chasidism give clear evidence that they have not remained untouched by their contact with Christianity, and we of to-day have been mightily influenced by this modern civilization.

But for all that, I believe that I am within the confines of truth when I say that we have always given more than we have received, and much of that which we have received has not always inured to our good. The atom among the nations, the Jew in contributing religion to the civilization of mankind, has contributed the mightiest force and factor in the uprearing of the "Civitas Dei"; he has been the most potent influence in the upbuilding of humanity's "sanctum sanctorum."

And now that the morning hour of this twentieth century civiliza-

tion shines upon him, shall his voice no longer be heard in the Parliament of the world? Shall he meteor-like pass off the stage of existence and be no more? Can he continue to be religion's protestant, the world's anomaly, having no home or country of his own; an exotic civilization eating deeper and deeper into the heart of his thought; a Semitic people amidst an Aryan environment?

Ominous and portentous sounds are being heard on all sides of us.

- Both within and without the camp of Israel, prophets are sending forth their lugubrious announcements; those within fearing that disintegration and dissolution stare us in the face, those without hoping for it. Those within need not fear, and those without need not hope. Graver situations have confronted Israel than the present crisis, and she has always succeeded in coming forth out of them all, born into new life, lifted into new enthusiasms.

M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu says: "Religions have the peculiar faculty of sliding over contradictions. They possess a wonderful instinct of adaptation to time and place. Judaism, especially, has succeeded in emerging from two or three crises, each of which seemed as though it must prove fatal. It has a strange vitality and has so often given proof of the fact as to have just ground for indignation at any show of doubt regarding its future. We have traditions or myths which tell us that Judaism will survive to the end of the world; they may very possibly be correct." ("Israel among the Nations," p. 42.)

The myths are correct. Judaism will not die. Judaism will live. It is as eternal as the Eternal Jehovah Himself. There is no religion that has the peculiar faculty of sliding over contradictions in such an eminent degree as Judaism. It will outlive all crises. What though it has been forced to encounter a world, which is at cross purposes with its hopes and aspirations and one that is anxious for its end! It will nevertheless continue to push forward its hopes and its aspirations, satisfied that ultimately they will become a part of common humanity. What though its own adherents are but half-heartedly devoted to the ideas and the ideals of its cherished faith? Its men stationed on the watchtower of eminence conscious of their Jewish consciousness, burning with an intense love for their God and their religion, will seek to fire the hearts of the recalcitrants and wean

them from their indifference, and again win them for their Judaism. What though the "Higher Anti-Semitism" attempt to strike down Judaism by its overt and covert attacks against our literature. Our literature will stand as its own defense. They burned our literature in the days gone by. To-day they would condemn it or say that it is merely a copy. *Still* our literature continues to burn, spreading a light that can never be extinguished; it will continue to be the storehouse from which the religious world draws its richest inspirations. Strange fatality that in the very precincts in which condemnatory words are heard, our prophets are read and our psalms are sung!

Christianity cannot afford to give Judaism fair treatment. Burdened with its heathen accretions the comparison would be fatal. So she maligns her mother and traduces her teachings.

It is said of the Spaniards that they are such poor marksmen because they close their eyes when they shoot. Christian scholars make such poor Jewish Theologians because they close their minds when they examine Jewish literature and Jewish thought. It is only on such a theory that we can explain Prof. Stade's declaration: That it is a piece of impudence on the part of the rabbis to try to convince the Christian public that the Jews by the command: 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' are enjoined to show a like love for all mankind, and thus try to stamp Judaism as a religion of love." (Geschichte des Volkes Israel, p. 510, Anmerk. 3.) Or that other statement of his that "the Jews try to throw sand into the eyes of the public when they declare that the laws with reference to the 'Ger' (the stranger), apply in general to the non-Jew." (Ibid., p. 400, note 2.)

The value of Prof. Harnack's treatment of Judaism in his latest work, "Das Wesen des Christenthums," can be learned from such a narrow, ill-considered, and half-digested statement as the following: "In dealing with religion, is it not after all the Christian religion alone with which we have to do? Other religions no longer stir the depths of our hearts." Similar statements to these can be heard from a thousand Christian pulpits to-day.

Lyman Abbot voiced them in a course of lectures which he gave before the students of the Johns Hopkins University some years

ago. He said, "With the coming of Christianity there came a dispensation such as the world had never seen or heard of before, and such as it is likely it will never see or hear of again." And what was that dispensation? It was comprised in the three words: "Love, service, sacrifice." As though the world had to wait for the coming of Christianity to learn of "love, service and sacrifice!" As though the Great Unknown of the Babylonian captivity had never lived! As though he knew nought of "love, service and sacrifice!" If this constitutes the newer dispensation of Christianity, then Christianity is simply Judaism over again, and Judaism "gave to the world a dispensation such as the world had never seen or heard of before, and such as it is likely it will never see or hear of again."

It is to be deplored that the non-Jewish world takes this hostile attitude toward the Jew and his religion. It is much more to be deplored that the Jew himself knows so little about his religion and what is worse still, cares so little for it. The gravest indictment against the Jews of the present generation is that they do not take their Judaism seriously. It does not enter into their lives or stir their souls as it should. Our extreme indifference puts us to shame.

The French have recently invented the happy term, "je m'en fichisme," to designate the systematic determination not to take anything in life too solemnly. That position exactly describes the attitude of the Jew to-day towards his Judaism, a don't-care spirit which is even worse than a skeptical bearing towards it. Many of us are Hebraiculi, little Hebrews, little Jews or if you will Jewlings, small in our enthusiasms, small in our hopes, small in our aspirations, burning with no intense faith, fired with no consuming passion for the religion of our fathers.

We rabbis should see to it that we need not be classed in the category of the "Je m'en fichists." Great and arduous is the work that lies before us. We at least should take our Judaism seriously. We should regard it as something more than a mere spade to dig with. We should get into the lives of our constituents. We should glow with the passion of the prophets, and be inflamed and inflame others with their ideals. Personal aggrandizement should be far removed from our thought. We should feel as though we had more im-

portant work to do than to preach our own Judaism. We should make ourselves of no reputation by keeping ourselves in the background and by preaching a higher personality than ourselves, by preaching God, the "be-all and end-all" of life.

To solve the present difficulties, we in our self-complacency should not attempt to enter into unholy alliances, or make any unwarranted compromises. The new Paul has not yet arisen. There are some who would like to play his rôle and engraft a neopaganism on the tree of Judaism. A mixing of the rites and rituals of various religions, of feasts and fasts, of customs and ceremonies, Judaism cannot brook. The Jew never has been an eclectic in religion. Those who would establish a Volapuk Judaism, or a Volapuk religion, do not understand the very first rudiments of the life and the growth of religion. Religions are not formed that way. A religious pot-pourri or a religious hodge-podge is and should always remain an anomaly. Religions like languages grow. They are not manufactured. A little Judaism and a little Christianity; a little Mohammedanism and a little Buddhism mixed up as a compound, I fear would destroy the patient. It would be no religion at all. It would be a mere makeshift.

But is not Judaism a universal religion, and what right have we to isolate ourselves from the world, and declare ourselves superior to the rest of mankind? "A nice method," we are told, "you are using to realize the mission for which you have been called into life. You are to win the world to Judaism, and you shut yourselves up in your shell and indifferently pursue your own course without giving one thought to the rest of mankind." "Is not the time ripe," so our critics ask, "is not the time ripe for an amalgamation between Judaism and Unitarianism at least? Are they not one in thought?" None would hail the day on which such a coalition would take place more than the Jew. But are Judaism and Unitarianism really one in thought? Are they as near to each other as some of our critics suppose? Each places the emphasis upon different points. Each has a distinctive history back of it which gives shape and color to its thought. Each is jealous of maintaining its proud heritage. As long as the Jew places the emphasis on the particularisms of his faith; as long as Unitarianism gives a unique place to the Man of

Nazareth, forgetting that there are prophets in Israel who rose to his height, there will be no possibility of a coalition. Historical lines are not so easily effaced. Three thousand years of suffering, of martyrdom, of aspiration, of struggle in behalf of an idea cannot, by the mere say-so, be brushed aside.

I am always reminded of the dialogue that passes between Glendower and Hotspur in Shakespeare's Henry IV., when this subject of an amalgamation between Judaism and Unitarianism is up for discussion. Says Glendower to Hotspur: "I can call spirits from the vasty deep." Says Hotspur to Glendower: "And so can I, and so can any man, but will they come when you call for them?" Will Unitarianism come when Judaism calls; will Judaism come when Unitarianism calls? Let those who believe that the calling is all that is necessary, call their loudest and they will soon learn that they call in vain. It is not so easy to bring about a coalition of varying faiths, as some would think. It is even questionable whether that is desirable.

Whither then shall the Jew and Judaism turn? What is the solvent in their pressing perplexities? "Back to Zion," a thousand voices cry! "Back to the land of the fathers! Back to the soil rich in the memories of a glorious past, and prophetic of a still more glorious future!" Thus rings out the message of the ardent Zionist. Who is there who does not sympathize with the centuried cry of martyrdom that again comes to us out of the heart of our oppressed people from the land of the Czar, and laughs to scorn all our high hopes of a twentieth century civilization? Who would not if he could, do all in his power to lead our hapless brethren out of their living hell to a land that gives promise of better things? Stony indeed, must that heart be! Dead to the wails and the woes of humanity! Lost to every higher and nobler impulse! In so far every Jew is a Zionist. East Africa, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Argentina, any place just to free our downtrodden brethren from the Pharaonic yoke that weighs them down.

But for all that, for us in this blessed land of freedom, Zion does not spell the destiny of Israel. To-morrow, the natal day of our nation, the graceful folds of the stars and stripes will be flung to the breezes. That flag is our flag. Under its protecting folds the

persecuted of all nations have found shelter. Hither will flock many of our persecuted Russian brethren. They will not be turned back. As long as the nation's executive is possessed of the sympathetic instincts of our present president, we need have no fear. No, for us Zion does not spell the destiny of Israel. We will not grant the anti-Semites' charge. We will not run away under fire, but by our persistency will fire the world with our lofty idealism. To retreat now would mean cowardice. "Diffused isolation" is to be preferred to "concentrated isolation." We must continue to be a thorn in the side of the world, an irritant, a factor and a ferment in modern life. If the head of the Zionist movement believes that it is "mere impertinence" for the Jew to think that he "has anything to teach modern civilization," we will tell him that it is this statement of his that is impertinent. The Aryan world is simply teaching old Semitic truths over again, even if it does not live in accordance with these truths. Palestine is not the goal of Israel, but the world is.

The recent outbreaks in Russia token for us not the advent of Winter, but the coming of Spring, the resurrected hope of a new humanity. This was the reassuring message which Secretary Hay held out to the delegation that visited the White House recently with reference to the Kishineff affair. "He who watches over Israel does not slumber," and the wrath of man, now as so often in the past, shall be made to praise them. Already signs are beginning to multiply confirming this hope. The voice of civilized humanity must and shall be heard. Russia cannot afford to disregard the petition of the citizens of this country of which our chief executive is the envoi. She may refuse to accept or consider the petition, the petition has already had its moral effect.

"And even if Russia does hearken to the appeal," a voice interposes, "that will not solve the Jewish question; it will but mitigate it." The "Weltschmerz" of the Jew will still go on. From a thousand wounds he will continue to bleed. The nations of the world will give him no rest. If solution he desires to his problem, so his friends and his enemies tell him, solution he can only find in dissolution. Surrender is his salvation. "Surrender!" that is the luring bait which the Christian world for well-nigh two thousand years held out to the Jew. "Surrender!" that is the enticing blan-

dishment with which a few weak-kneed Jews would draw their sturdier brethren from their ancient moorings. Surrender indeed! Coward, coward, coward, who at a time like this when the Jew is still held in distrust and suspicion, when such choice epithets as alien, parasite, interloper, are hurled into the teeth; coward, I say, who at a time like this would desert the flag and urge others to forsake their patrimony. What greater, what grander glory can there be than to live, aye, to die if need be, for one's ideals! What greater, what grander glory can there be than to teach by our suffering the sublime and the inspiring lessons of our religion!

Not surrender, not Zionism, not unwarranted compromises and unholy alliances, but to-day again a re-emphasis shall be placed for the re-awakening of our Jewish consciousness, a consciousness that shall not merely be mechanical, or static, but one that shall be dynamic, one that will move and enthuse, arouse and stir, burn and fire, one that will make us worthy of the proud heritage that has been bequeathed to us by God, one that will make us children worthy of having been born in His image. The Jew was once the spiritual Midas, turning everything that he touched into spiritual gold. He shall again become the spiritual Midas, the spiritual leader of humanity. We dare not make the tomb our shield. What the fathers have wrought is a matter of history. We must again be re-incarnated with the spirit of the fathers. We must live our Judaism. This is the only justification in the eyes of the world for our existence to-day. If we are not ready to live for our Judaism, then it is time for our Judaism to die. Then those who urge surrender are right. For fifteen hundred years Judaism has been saved by its ritual, now shall it be saved by its righteousness. Unless we have this passion for righteousness, this internal and external enthusiasm for humanity, unless we become saturated through and through with the ideals of the prophets, and realize them in our lives, unless we force the name of "Jew" to cease being a hissing and by-word, among the nations, by causing it to be a synonym for everything that is high and lofty, loving and humane, unless we make God our ideal, and humanity our goal, we, in very truth, have no *raison d'être* to-day. Here shall we place the emphasis. Here for us rests the solution of the Jewish question. Let the Jews become

Christians, says Madam Nouvikoff. Let the Christians become Christians, says Mr. Zangwill. Let the Jews become Jews, and the Christians become Christians, say we, and the Jewish problem will be solved.

The Midrash tells us that the sons of Ephraim in their feverish haste to conquer the promised land, rushed into the breach without the ark of the covenant and were repulsed instead of reaching the promised goal. If we do not desire to be repulsed in our endeavor to reach the promised land of our hopes, we should not allow our impatience to cause us to forget to take the ark of the covenant with us. With the ark of the covenant, with God's holy law a part of our lives, we should move onward and forward. Under this banner, come, what may, our future is secure. Those of you who are for God, those of you who are for the re-awakening of the Jewish consciousness, come, come on my side! Fight the righteous fight for His glory and for the glory of mankind, Amen.

JUDAISM, AMERICANISM, COSMOPOLITANISM.

CONFERENCE SERMON, CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

By RABBI SAMUEL HIRSCHBERG.

TEXT: "And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom; 'thus saith thy brother Israel . . . Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country; we will not pass through the fields or through the vineyards; we will not drink of the water of the wells; by the king's highway will we go, we will not turn to the right hand nor to the left until we have passed thy borders.'" (Numbers xx: 14, 17.)

It is, friends and colleagues, by a rare and happy coincidence our privilege to be gathered here for purposes of worshipful recognition of a Divine Director of human destinies, on this our nation's Independence Day, and our historic Sabbath Day, וְכֹר לַיּוֹצֵאת מִצְרָיִם as it is known, "weekly reminder of the priceless blessing of freedom as first fought for and won in that ancient contest, meant to be exemplary in its issue for all times, of enslaved Israel against despotic Egypt." It is indeed a most apt illustration of that "meeting together, beautiful kissing of each other" of natural affinities, of which the Psalmist sings (85, 10). We have here Israel, the appointee of the Most High, delegated "to proclaim liberty throughout the earth" (Lev. 25, 10) to contemporaneous mankind of the antique past: America, by similar divine selection, chosen to send resounding throughout the modern world the announcement of the God-intended, God-inherited liberty of each individual: can there be any more impressive instance of the eternal fitnesses of things than is thus presented in the two-fold character of this day?

And how much the more powerfully must this day take hold of one when thus in its twofold character it comes upon one and the same person; when in the American, it meets and gives greeting to one of Israel; and in him of Israel, an American!

We have referred to this as "our" nation's Independence Day. And who in this company need be questioned; "is it not entirely and undeniably this, as thoroughly and warrantably this, for us, Jews as we are, as for any of our co-citizens of this land."

But be not alarmed. I do not propose to try your patience by anything so trite, commonplace and stereotyped as a sermon upon the Jew as a patriot. We, those of us who are preachers and have an audience week after week at our mercy, have all had our fling—and no single and unrepeated one at that, I dare say, has satisfied us—at the obstinate misunderstanding of us by the world generally as an alien nationality within a nationality; and the equally stubborn refusal to recognize in us solely and simply a religious confraternity, just as any other body of people whose distinctive bond of organized fellowship is that of a definite religion or creed. We have all, too, doubtlessly made the familiar and more or less frequent declaration in the names of our prophets and rabbis, that the Jew, wherever he may be, is charged as a primal obligation with the duties of faithful citizenship, and in substantiation have called as a witness Jeremiah with his solemn injunction to the exiles in Babylon, "Build ye houses and dwell in them; plant gardens and eat the fruit of them. Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (29, 7); and the sages of the Mishnah and the Talmud with their earnest counsel of like tenor to their fellow-subjects under Roman and other dominion, *הוי מתפלל בשולמה של מלכות*, "pray thy diligent utmost for the welfare of the government" (Aboth, 3, 2), *ר' נא רמלכותא רנא*, "the law of whatever civil authority shall be thy law" (Gittin 10 b), *מלכחות אדרעה עבון מלכחות אדרעה עבון*, "the rule of earthly suzerain shall have in thy regard the same sacredness as the rule of the Heavenly King" (Berachoth 58 a). It needs no iteration then on my part in this presence, or any less rabbinical in character, that the Jew, as far as nationality goes, shares a common identity, and in equal degree, with all his fellow-residents of this or any other land; that his religion has naught to do with his citizenship, unless it be to make that citizenship the better, the truer, the more intense, the more devoted; that Judaism in the largest universal sense, truly, rightfully spells cosmopolitanism.

- And this is the view which long ago found expression in our text selected from the Sidrah of to-day. Israel, about to move forward after its protracted sojourn in Kadesh, addresses itself to the kingdom of Edom for right of way through its territory. It pledges its entire willingness and registers its most solemn vow to respect the laws and institutions of the land. It will freely accommodate itself to whatever conditions, even according to the most strict and extreme construction, the vested rights and interests of its citizens may impose. It will not pass through the fields, nor the vineyards; it will not even drink of the water of the wells. It will proceed straight onward, digressing neither to the right hand nor to the left. *דרך המלך* "By the king's highway" will it march, honoring, holding diligently fast to every regulation making for the recognition of its fellow-people in all of its prerogatives, collective or individual; taking care faithfully, scrupulously, to abide by its word by the mouth of its messengers of being, *אהן ישראל*, "thy brother-people Israel."

And so in the main has Israel ever since conducted itself. *דרך המלך* "By the king's highway," has it regularly proceeded, eager, anxious to participate in the common life, to assume and bear the responsibilities of citizenship, to uphold the laws and institutions, to respect the rights and interests to safeguard life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to be, in a word, *אהן ישראל*, as a "brother-people" among the peoples in whose midst its lot has been cast, though oft and oft the only answer to its pleadings and exertions in this direction, as at the hands of Edom of old, has been the most disdainful, humiliating and savage of rebuffs.

And to-day this fact stands out in more pronounced relief than ever, and it is only an unconscionable and unconvincible anti-Semitism that cannot and will not see it. There is no people to-day so readily assimilative of the national characteristics, so truly cosmopolitan, not by the fact of mere geographical distribution, but by the fact of identification with the life, the spirit, the manners, the aims, the strivings of the different national units of this earth, as the Jews.

Take any instance that may suggest itself, even of the most unfavorable sort, that of the Jew in Russia, where he has had the

hardest, the bitterest, and even to this day losing fight for recognition as a citizen, as a Russian among Russians; and still for all that he has had to contend against, alien as he has been proclaimed and treated, there is that which marks him as a son of Russia, no less in inner sentiment and habit of thought than in outward feature and demeanor, jointly with every other subject of the realm of the Czar. The accents in which he speaks, the terms in which he thinks, the modes in which he feels, quite as decisively as his general looks and bearing proclaim an unmistakable national affinity with all his better acknowledged compatriots indigenous to the Slavic soil.

And so similarly wherever we may turn our observation. We speak conventionally of a "Jewish" type. But it is a matter of question whether in strict reality such a type exists. Certainly the law of variation of species finds in the Jew one of its strongest of verifications. The Jew undeniably does vary according to the clime, and all the conditions, civic and social and economic, which go to make up the environment, in which he lives; so that he is something quite different in one part of the world from what he is in another, even though it be an adjacent part, making it correspondingly difficult, religion to one side, to designate any common characteristics, such as must mark a "type," which hold good of him throughout.

And especially is this true as it relates to the Jew of America. There has been developed on this continent a new type of Jew, distinct from all the rest of his kind. He has entered into all that constitutes the life peculiar to this nation and has become thoroughly saturated with the spirit of its institutions, traditions and policies until he has become as completely Americanized, as typical of national character here, as his being, or that of any other man, however far back in the land his lineage may extend, can possibly become. And much of this result, the main part of it, I dare say, is traceable to the influence which the Jewish pulpit has exerted. We rabbis, and particularly those of an earlier generation, have made it our especial aim, after the ancient Mosaic example, to direct them that look to us for guidance into the broad avenues of the *רַחֲם הַמֶּלֶךְ* "king's highway," and to combat every inclination to strike off into bye-ways

which might lead away from the large interests of the general life into a narrow, insular life of our own. We have labored to break down every interposing barrier, whether the creation of the Jew's own sensitive misgivings or the prejudices of others, and across the fallen dividing walls to let the Jew offer and have accepted the honest hand of an equal unreserved comradeship. Doing our utmost to remove all clannishness and exclusiveness, to minimize all differences, to neutralize all distinctions, we have looked forward to the accomplishment of a complete rapprochement between the Jew and those about him; when his Americanism seen and known and acknowledged as just as native, genuine, deep-striking, all pervasive and controlling of himself as any of his fellow-countrymen, shall reveal him as just as much an American of Americans, in truth אחֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל, "Israel, the fully accredited, the unquestioned, rightful brother" of all his compatriots.

But yet laudable as such an accomplishment should be, rejoice and congratulate ourselves upon it as we properly and very enthusiastically might, a certain danger connected therewith is not to be overlooked.

We have referred just now to a "minimizing of differences," a "neutralizing of distinctions between the Jew and those about him." These terms were perhaps a little inaptly chosen; for, if literally interpreted, is it not just here that the danger lies? Do we actually want; should we in fact strive to minimize differences, to neutralize distinctions, at least to the degree thus implied?; to reduce these to the vanishing point where they should entirely cease to be? What under such conditions would become of the Jew? Would there be a Jew any more? And if so, must he not be an utterly anomalous, utterly amorphous kind of a being, wholly without definite form, feature and identity of his own?

We, who are preachers especially, need here to turn back to our text and read a lesson to ourselves. Moses charges his messengers to the king of Edom thus, כה אמר אחיך יִשְׂרָאֵל, "thus saith thy brother Israel," and not thus, כה אמר יִשְׂרָאֵל אחיך, "thus saith Israel thy brother." Achich "Thy brother," but still ישראלי "Israel," is the idea here emphasized in this significant order of the words.

There are those pulpits, and perhaps all of us in unguarded

moments have been guilty of it, which regularly preach as Judaism, a religion reduced to its lowest terms, a pseudo, sentimental liberalism; those broad, general principles of a common Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, and one or two others, the like of these, which being basic and universal, naturally and immediately compel the assent of the religious consciousness of men; and so preaching, create the impression that this is the whole of Judaism, the full sum of the requisite and distinguishing profession and belief of the Jew. Nor is there lacking authority for this. We have even anciently that memorable, historic generalization of Hillel in answer to a heathen inquirer; we have the various general formulæ recorded in the Talmud as summing up in a few pregnant sentences of bard and seer the definition of Judaism. But all generalizations, friends, we know are fatal to precision of statement and productive of anything but clarity of thought. The ancient sages would have been the last to agree that the Golden Rule, or Micah 6, 8, or the 15th or the 24th Psalm, or any other however profoundly or comprehensively sententious utterance of a Scriptural or other teacher, told the full and exact story of what Judaism is and requires. And so with modern extra broad, extra liberal, ultra catholic interpretations of Judaism. They are interpretations of Judaism, with the Judaism pretty much left out. What is offered as such, as far as anything distinctive is concerned, might just as readily be offered as any one of several other enlightened faiths of men. It is pretty much a matter of difference in outside label and name, and very little of a difference in inner essence and content.

There is need then for the *Jewish* note to be struck a little more strongly and pronouncedly than it is in many of our pulpits to-day. We would not for a moment undervalue the conciliatory effect of the great central principles of religion seen to be common to all in bringing people together in mutual respect and sympathy and improved understanding. We most positively would have emphasized at every point and on every proper occasion all features of agreement between men of different minds and beliefs; but at the same time we would not have forgotten or overlooked the features of special distinctiveness. These, too, require their due accentuation. And they require it to a special degree in Judaism to-day, where,

not a little owing to the neutral character of the preaching, an over-emphasis upon the general, the common in belief, a race of spiritual neutrals, spiritual ciphers, spiritual non-descripts, Jews who are only racially so, compulsory apologists for a being, without definite reason other than accident of birth to give for that being, has been developed. If the increasing ignorance, the increasing inability, of which we are all daily more and more being made aware, of the average Jew to give an intelligent account of himself, is to be effectually combated; if, moreover, the equally noticeable growing class of faint-hearted, weak-spirited, shame-faced Jews who, if they could, would deny, and wherever they can, do dissemble about their faith; if this class is to be successfully confronted and inspired with a courage, a pride and a self-respect they now so pathetically lack; it cannot be done by making concessions to their weaknesses, by obscuring the issues between Judaism and other faiths with the fine sounding platitudes of a vague humanitarianism and universalism; but can be done only by giving them clear-cut, positive views of Judaism, by letting be heard with never wearying iteration, strong and clear and resonant above every other, the *Jewish note*, in all our preaching and teaching.

Does this sound out of accord with what we have said previously in this discourse? Does the question arise, what, with Judaism thus accentuated, becomes of the Americanism of the Jew, his placing himself on the common ground of an equal comradeship, his exhibition of a common identity, after the same national type with all his fellow-citizens, we have proposed for him? Our answer is, that the union between Church and State was long ago dissolved as irrational and unreal; that there never was a need for a unity and identity in faith, to have a unity and identity among men. Americanism and Judaism are not mutually jealous and excluding human interests. The one need not be absorbed or submerged in the other, no more than where any other form of national or creedal attachment may be in question. No one ever thinks of questioning whether our fellow Gentile of whatever sect can be an American. He is likely to be only the more and better of an American, because the more and better in the best sense, a sectarian. And so with the Jew. Not the less of an American may he be because a Jew, how-

ever thoroughly and distinctively so, but the more and better. Even, as reversely taken, not the less of Jew because thoroughly and distinctively American. So Moses thought of old and so the word went from him to Edom כה אמר אחין ישראל “thus saith thy brother Israel,” אחין “thy brother,” but none the less ישראל “*Israel*.” Amen.

IN MEMORIAM
OF
REV. DR. MOSES MIELZINGER
PROFESSOR AND ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE HEBREW
UNION COLLEGE

Israel's faithful shepherd has gone to his eternal rest. Like Moses, our great Lawgiver, he engraved the words of the Torah upon the hearts of his disciples. Imbued with love and veneration for the past of his people, he made tradition a living stream of thought and inspiration. As a man, every one who met him, loved him. As a teacher, he had the respect and confidence of all those who were privileged to sit at his feet. His pure and simple character reflected his love of God. Goodness and nobility were the essence of his life. His was, indeed, a great soul, incapable of meanness or selfishness.

When the history of Judaism in America will be written Moses Mielziner's name will not be forgotten. He stood for scholarship in the best sense of the term. As the Rabbi of a Congregation in New York, and as Professor of Talmud at the Hebrew Union College, his work was ever painstaking, conscientious and able. Faithfully did he labor for years at the side of the great chieftain in Israel, Isaac M. Wise, to make the Hebrew Union College a center of Jewish learning. The seed he scattered cannot be lost; it will bring rich harvest to the cause of God and man. נפקדת כי יפרק כושך

"Thou shalt be missed because thy seat is empty."

We will honor his memory by emulating his life in our own, by showing the zeal and love for Judaism that ever marked his work.

To the wife and children, bereaved of a loving husband and father, we offer our heartfelt sympathy. May God in His mercy comfort and console them.

The services rendered by Moses Mielziner to this Conference are gratefully recorded. Through the calmness and dignity of his bearing in discussion he gave to our deliberations the stamp of earnest responsibility; through his learned papers he made our Conference an authority to be respected in modern Judaism, and by his geniality and kindness of spirit deepened the sense of fraternity among his pupils and colleagues and elevated the ideals and standards of the ministry.

In the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

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